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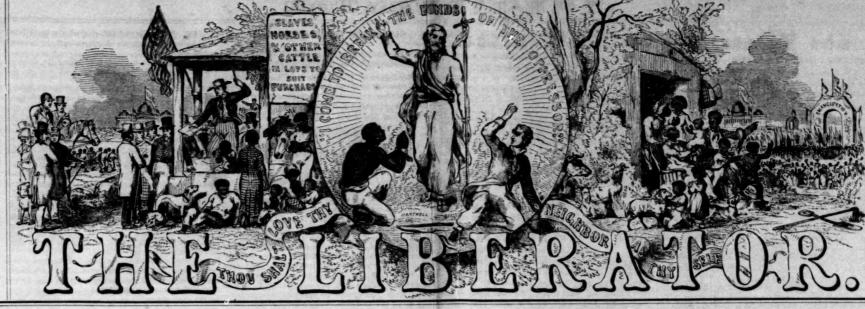
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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Penngylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorised to receive subscriptions for The Liberator.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Edmund Jackson, and Wendell Phillips.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. R. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant

with death, and an agreement with hell."

What order of men under the most absolute of

monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a scarificate in Mosch was hidden under the mask of this concer-

tion from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Molech was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 49.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1615.

Selections.

THE REBELLION: ITS ORIGIN AND MAINSPRING. ADDRESS

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, Before the Fraternity of the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society, Nov. 25, 1861;

On being presented to the crowded auditory, the eloquent Senator was greeted with rounds of ap-plause long continued. When silence was obtained, he spoke as follows:]

Really, Boston is herself again! To-night, this large, brimming audience will listen to me. To-morrow night another will listen to Henry Ward Beecher; and the night after, still another will listen to Wenand the light after, still another will issen to Well-dell Phillips—all of us on the same theme, and with one inspiring object in view. But they are orators, unsurpassed in our country. I can only speak to you sincerely and plainly, and throw myself upon your

[Mr. Sumner then proceeded as follows, frequently interrupted by hearty applause:]

FELLOW CITIZENS: In the presence of such an au-FELLOW CITIZENS: In the presence of such an audience—assembled for no purpose of party or even of politics, in the ordinary sense of that term—I incline naturally to some topic of literature—of history—of science—of art—to something at least which makes for Peace. But at this moment when our whole continent is beginning to shake with the tread of mustering armies, the voice refuses any such theme. The ancient poet, longing to sing of Achilles and the house of Atreus, found that he could only sing of love, and he snatched from his lyre its bloody string. Alas! for me the case is all changed. I can speak to you only of War; but do not forget that if I speak of War, it is because unhappily War has become to us the only way of Peace.

The Present is too apt to appear trivial and unicaportant while the Past and Future are grand. Rarely do men know the full significance of the period in which they live, and we are all inclined to sigh for something better in the way of opportunity—such as for Peace. But at this moment when our whole con-

which they live, and we are all inclined to sign for something better in the way of opportunity—such as was given to the hero of the Past, or such as our imagination allots to the better hero of the Future. But there is no occasion for such repining now. There is nothing in the Past—and it is difficult to imagine anything in the Future—more inspiring than our Present. Even with the curtain yet slightly lived it is easy to see that events are now gethering. lifted, it is easy to see that events are now gathe lifted, it is easy to see that events are now gathering, which, in their development, must constitute the third great epoch in the history of this Western Hemisphere;—the first being its discovery by Christopher Columbus, and the second being the American Revolution. And now it remains to be seen if this epoch of ours may not surpass in grandeur either of its two predecessors, so that the fame of the Discoverer and the fame of the Liberator—of Columbus and of Washington—may be celipsed by the mild effulgence beaming from an act of god-like Justice, which, within its immediate influence, will create a new heaven and a new earth, while in other lands its life-giving example will be felt—so long as men struglife-giving example will be felt—so long as men strug-gle for rights denied; so long as any human being

vears a chain. War is always an epoch. Unhappily, history ounts by wars. Of these, some have been wars of leas—like that between the Catholics and Huguenots in France; between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany; between the arbitrary crown of Charles I. and the Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell; and like that between our fathers and the mother country, when the Declaration of Independence was put in issue. Some have originated in questions of form, come in the goatest coordinates of femilies some in the fields.

some in the contentions of families, some in the fickle-ness of princes, and some in the machinations of poli-ticians. England waged war on Holland, and one of the reasons openly assigned was an offensive picture in the Town Hall of Amsterdam. France hurled her armies across the Rhine, carrying fire and slaughter into the Palatinate, and involving great nations in a most bloody conflict, and all this wickedness has been traced to the intrigue of a Minister, who sought in this way to divert the attention of his Sovereign. But we are now in the midst of a war, which, whatever may be the reasons assigned by the unhappy men who began it, or by those who sympathize with them elsewhere, has an origin so clear and definite as to be beyond question. Ideas are sometimes good and sometimes bad; and there may be a war for evil as well as for good. Such was that earliest rebellion waged by fallen spirits against the Almighty Throne; and such also is that now waged by the fallen slave-masters of our Republic against the National Government.

If you will kindly listen, I shall now endeavor unmask this Rebellion, in its Origin and Main-spring. It is only when these are known that yon can determine how the Rebellion is to be treated. Your efforts will naturally be governed by the character of the adverse force—whether regarded as a motive power or as a disease. A steam-engine is stopped at once by stopping the steam. A ghastly cancer which has grappled the very fibres of the human frame, and shot its poison through every vein, will not yield to lip-salve or rose-water.

"Diseases desperate grown
By desperate appliances are relieved,
Or not at all."

On the 6th of November last, the people of the United States, acting in pursuance of the Constitu-tion and laws, chose Abraham Lincoln President. Of course, this choice was in every particular con-stitutional and legal. As such, it was entitled to the Of course, this choice was in every particular constitutional and legal. As such, it was entitled to the respect and acquiescence of every good citizen. It is in vain to say that the candidate represented opinions obnoxious to a considerable section of the country, or that he was chosen by votes confined to a special section. It is enough that he was duly chosen. You cannot set aside or deny such an election without assailing not only the whole framework of the Constitution, but also the primal principle of American Institutions. You become a traitor at once to the existing Government, and also to the very idea of popular rule. You snatch a principle from the red book of Despotism, and openly substitute the cartridge-box for the ballot-box.

And yet scarcely had this intelligence been flashed across the country, before the mutterings of sedition and treason began to reach us from the opposite quarter. The Union was menaced; and here the first distinct voice came from South Carolina. A Senator from that State—one of the largest slave-holders of the country, and a most strenuous partisan of slavery—Mr. Hammond—openly declared, in language not easily forgotten, that before the 18th of December, South Carolina would be "out of the Union high and dry, and forever." These words heralded the outbreak. With the pertinacity of demons, its leaders pushed forward. Their avowed object was the dismemberment of the Republic by

detaching State after State, in order to found a saveholding Confederacy. And here the clearest utterance came from a late Representative of Georgia — Mr. Stephens—now Vice President of the relect foundations of the new government are laid upon the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great truth, that slavery—abordination to the superior reaches in the great physical, philosophical and moral truth; and that the stone which shows an insensibility to shame. Surely the object are to store the conspirators of the Sanata, in the great physical, philosophical and moral truth; and that the stone which shows an insensibility to shame. Surely the object are some of the conserver, and that the stone which shows an insensibility to shame. Surely the object are some of the conserver, and that the stone is the surface of the conserver, and that the stone is the surface of the conserver, and that the stone is the surface of the conserver, and that the stone possible only the surface of the conserver, and the stone is possible and moral truth; and that the stone which also only recently been brought to light, dated the work of the surface of the conserver, and the stone is the propositions and the the stone is standing and holding the work of the surface of

into Barbarism.

And now we stand face to face in deadly conflict with this double-headed, triple-headed treason. Beginning with those States most peculiarly interested in slavery, and operating always with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery, it has fastened upon other States less interested—Tennessee—North Carolina—Virginia—and with difficulty has been prevented from enveloping every State containing slaves—no matter how few; for such is the malignant poison of slavery, that only a few slaves will constitute a slave State, with all the symplectic state of the state of t slaves will constitute a slave State, with all the sympathies and animosities of slavery. This is the Rebellion which I am to unmask. But bad as it is on its face, it becomes aggravated when we consider its origin, and the agencies by which it has been conducted. It is not merely a Rebellion; but it is a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy; nor in all history, ancient or modern, is there any record of Conspiracy so vast and so wicked, ranging over such spaces both of time and territory, and contemplating such results. A conspiracy to seize a castle or to assassinate a prince is petty by the side of this enormous protracted treason, where half a continent studded with castles, and fortresses, and public edifices, is seized—where the Government itself is overthrown, and where the President on his way to the national Capi-

where the Government itself is overthrown, and where the President on his way to the national Capital narrowly escaped a most cruel assassination.

But no conspiracy could have ripened into such wicked fruit, if it were not rooted in a soil of congenial malignity. To appreciate properly this influence, we must go back to the beginning of the Government.

Government.
South Carolina, which has taken so forward a part South Carolina, which has taken so forward a part in this treason, hesitated criginally, as is well known, with regard to the Declaration of Independence. Once her vote was recorded against that act; and when it finally prevailed, her vote was given for it only formally, and for the sake of seeming unanimity. But so little was she inspired by the Delaration, that in the contest which ensued, her Commissioners made a proposition to the British Commander, which has been properly characterized by an able historian as "equivalent to an offer from the State to return to the British Crown." The same hesitation shown with regard to the Declaration of Independence was renewed with regard to the Pederal Constitution; and here it was shared by another State. It is no too institute the chief seat of the conspiracy—hesitated to become parties to the Union, and stipulated expressly for the recognition of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable condition. In the Convention, Mr. Rudtedge, of South Carolina, while opposing at ax on the important or slaves, said: "The true question at present is, soledler Southern States shall or shall not be parties to the Union." Mr. Takinder new and the state of the conspiracy—hesitated to become parties to the Union. Mr. Mations and the parties to the Union. Mr. States and the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable condition. In the Convention, and indispensable condition. In the Convention, and indispensable condition. In the Convention, and the proposition of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable condition. In the Convention, and indispensable condition. In the Convention of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution of the slave trade in the Federal Constitution as an indispensable in this treason, hesitated originally, as is well known, with regard to the Declaration of Independence.

"However, my dear friend Gates, all our misfor-tunes arise from a single source, the resistance of the Southern Colonies to Republican Government." (John Adams's Works, Vol. I., p. 297.)

And he proceeds to declare in strong language that "popular principles and axioms were abhorrent to the inclinations of the barons of the South." This letter was written in the early days of the Revolution. At a later period of his life, John Adams testifies again to the discord between the North and the South; and he refers particularly to the period after the Federal Constitution, saying: "The Northern and Southern States were invariably fixed in opposition to each other." (See Letter to James Lloyd, 11th February, 1815, John Adams's Works, Vol. X., p. 19.) This was before any question of Tariff, or

and Southern States were invariably fixed in opposition to each other." (See Letter to James Lloyd, 11th February, 1815, John Adams's Works, Vol. X., p. 19.) This was before any question of Tariff, or of Free Trade, or before the growing fortunes of the North had awakened Southern jealousy. The whole opposition had its root in slavery—as also had the earlier resistance to Republican Government.

In the face of these influences the Union was formed; but the seeds of Conspiracy were latent in its bosom. The spirit already revealed was scarcely silenced; it was not destroyed. It still existed, ranking, festering, burning to make itself manifest. At the mention of slavery, it always appeared full armed with barbarous pretensions. Even in the first Congress under the Constitution—at the presentation of that famous petition where Benjamin Franklin simply called upon Congress to step to the verge of its powers to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men—this spirit broke forth in violent threats. With a kindred lawlessness, it early embraced that extravagant dogma of State Rights, which has been ever since the convenient cloak of treason and of only menaced a dissolution of the Union. Instead of throttling the monster, we submitted to feed it with new concessions. Meanwhile the Conspiracy

But the Conspiracy has been unblushingly confessed by recent parties to it. Especially was this done in the rebel convention of South Carolina.

Mr. Packer said — "Secession is no spasmodic effort that has come suddenly upon us. It has been

ject under consideration for the last twenty years."
Mr. Keitt said—"I have been engaged in this movement ever since I entered political tife."
Mr. Rhett, who was in the Senate when I first Mr. Rhett, who was in the Senate when I first entered that body, and did not hesitate then to avow himself a Disunionist, said—in the same convention—" It is nothing produced by Mr. Lincoln's election or the non-execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a matter which has been gathering head for thirty years."

The Conspiracy thus exposed by Jackson and confessed by recent parties to it, was quickened by

confessed by recent parties to it, was quickened by the growing passion for slavery throughout the Slave States. The well-known opinions of the Fathers— the declared convictions of all who were most emithe declared convictions of all who were most eminent at the foundation of the government, and the example of Washington were all discarded, and it was recklessly avowed that slavery is a divine institution—the highest type of civilization—a blessing to master and slave alike—and the very key-stone of our national arch. A generation has grown up with this teaching, so that it is now ready to say with Satan with Satan-

"Evil, be theu my good; by thee at least
Divided empire with heaven's King I hold,
As man ere long, and this new world, shall know."

would have been crushed before it saw the light. Its whole success from its distant beginning down to this hour has been from our timility.

But there was also another sentiment, of a kindred perversity, which prevailed in the same quarter. This is vividly portrayed by John Adams in a letter to Gen. Gates, dated at Philadelphia, 23d of March, 1776:—

conspirators.

Secondly. The Navy was so far dispersed or dismantled, that on the 4th of March, when the new mantied, that on the 4th of March, when the new Administration came into power, there were no ships to enforce the laws, collect the revenues, or protect the national property in the rebel ports. Out of 72 vessels of war, then counted as our Navy, it appears that our whole available force at home was reduced to the steamer Brooklyn, carrying 25 guns, and the storeship Relief, carrying 2 guns. Thirdly. The Forts on the extensive Southern coast were so far abandoned by the public force that the larger part—counting upwards of 1200

garrison of Sumter.

Were all this done in the name of revolution, or by virtue of any revolutionary principle, it would assume a familiar character. But this is not the case. It is all done under the pretence of constitutional right. The forms of the Constitution are tional right. The forms of the Constitution are seized by the conspirators—as they have already seized everything else—and wrested to the purposes of treason. It is audaciously declared that, under the existing Constitution, each State in the exercise of its own discretion may withdraw from the Union; and this asserted right of secession is invoked as the cover for a Rebellion begun in Conspiracy. The election of Mr. Lincoln is made the occasion for the exercise of this pretended right. Certain oninions exercise of this pretended right. Certain opinions at the North on the subject of slavery are made the

right to set aside human nature to the extent of making merchandise of men. They form a well-matched couple, and travel well together,—destined to perish together. If we do not overflow toward the first with the same indignation which we feel for the latter, it is because its absurdity awakens our contempt. An English poet of the last century exclaims in mocking verse.—

But instead of scouting this pretension, and utterly spurning it from the Government, new concessions to slavery were gravely propounded as the means of pacification—like a new sacrifice offered to an obscene divinity. It was argued that in this way the Border States at least might be preserved to the Union, and some of the Cotton States, perhaps, be won back to their duty; in other words, that in consideration of these concessions, the six of the pretended right of secession. Against all of the pretended right of secession. Against all of reason and conscience, were all against concession. that in consideration of these concessions, these States would consent to waive the present exercise of the pretended right of secession. Against all such propositions—without considering their character—there was on the threshold one obvious and imperative objection. It was clear that the very bargain or understanding, whether express or implied, was a recognition of this pretended right, and that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained through concessions, practically asserts this claim, and holds it for future express to many algalium in and holds it for future express to many algalium in and holds it for future express the many algalium in and holds it for future express the many algalium in the consensation. that a State yielding only to this appeal, and detained through concessions, practically asserts this claim, and holds it for future exercise, tanguam gladium in vagina. Thus a concession, called small, becomes infinite, for it concedes the pretended right of secession, and makes the permanence of the National Government impossible. Amidst all the grave responsibilities of the hour, it belongs to us to take sponsibilities of the hour, it belongs to us to take sponsibilities of the Republic is sacredly preserved. But this would be sacrificed at once, did we submit its existence to the conditions sought to be imposed.

There were spoken for us. Here they are:—

"To expect to tranquillize and benefit a country by gratifying its agitators, would be like the practice of the superstitious of old, with their sympathetic powder and ointments; who, instead of applying medicaments to the wound, contented themselves with salving the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created that the life of the Republic is sacredly presented to the wound, contented themselves with salving the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created that the life of the Republic is sacredly presented to the wound, contented the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created to the wound, contented the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created to the wound, contented the wound, contented the sword which had inflicted it. Since the days of Dane-gelt downwards; nay, since the world was created to the wound, contented the wound, contented the wound, contented the wound.

submit its existence to the conditions sought to be imposed.

But, looking at the concessions proposed, I have always found them utterly unreasonable and indefensible. I should not expose them now, if they did not constantly testify to the Origin and Mainspring of this Rebellion. Slavery was always the single subject-matter, and nothing else. Slavery was not only an integral part of every concession, but the single integer. The single idea was to give some new security, in some form, to slavery. That briliant statesman, Mr. Canning, in one of those eloquent speeches which charm so much by the style, said that he was "tired of being a security-grinder"; but his experience was not comparable to ours "Security-grinding," in the name of slavery, has

of history is more melancholy—because nowhere do we find a ruler who so completely abandoned his to country; not Charles I. in his tyranny, not Louis to country; not Charles I. in his tyranny, not Louis at the could be used for slavery. The slaveholding conspirators were encouraged to sit in his Cabinet, where they doubly betrayed their country, first by evil counsels, and then by disclosing what passed to their distant slaveholding confederates. The sudden act of Major Anderson, in removing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sunter, and the sympathetic response of an aroused people, compelled a change of policy, and the Rebellion received its first check. It was decided, at last, after a painful struggle, that Fort Sunter should be maintained. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of that decision, which, I believe, was due mainly to an eminent Democratical Cass. This, at least, is true: it saved the National Capital.

Meanwhile, the Conspiracy increased in activity—mastering State after State, gathering its forces and building its batteries. The time had come for the tragedy to begin. "At Nottingham," says the great English historian, speaking of King Charles I., "he creeted his royal standard, the open signal now came from Charleston when the conspirators ran up the rattlesnake flag, and directed their wicked cannonade upon the small, half-famished garrison of Sunter.

Were all this done in the name of revolution, or by virtue of any revolutionary principle, it would

ed for this great surrender to slavery. Considering the character of these propositions—that they sought to change the Constitution in a manner revolting to the moral sense; to foist into the Constitution the idea of property in man; to protect slavery in all present territory south of 36 deg, 30 min., and to carry it into all territory hereafter acquired south of that line, and thus to make our beautiful Stars and Stripes in their southern march the flag of slavery; considering that they further sought to give new constitutional securities to slavery in the National Capital and in other places within the exclusive Federal jurisdiction; that they sought to give new constitutional securities to the transit of slaves at the North on the subject of slavery are made the pretext.

Who will not deny that this election can be a just of slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill or the gates of Faneuil Hall; and that they also sought the disfranchisement of more than 10,000 of my fellow-citizens in Massachusetts, whose rights are fixed by the Constitution of that Commonwealth, drawn by John Admire considering these thiors. I felt at the time and

even if tolerable in form, it was obnoxious, like the rest, as a fresh stipulation in favor of slavery. Suf-ficient surely in this respect is the actual Constitu-tion. Beyond this I cannot—I will not go. What tion. Beyond this I cannot—I will not go. What Washington, Franklin and Jay would not insert, we

claims in mocking verse,—

"Crowned be the man with lasting praise,
Who first contrived the pin,
To loose mad horses from the chain,
And save the works within."

But this is the impossible contrivance which has been attempted. Nothing is clearer than that this pretension, if acknowledged, leaves to every State the right to play at will "the mad horse," but with very little chance of saving anything. It takes from the government not merely its unity, but even the possibility of continued existence, and reduces it to the shadow of a name, or at best a mere tenancy at will—an unsubstantial form liable to be decomposed at the touch of a single State. Of course, such an anarchical pretension—so instinct with all the lawlessness of slavery—must be encountered peremptorily. It is not enough to declare our dissent from it. We must see that our conduct is such as not to give it any recognition or foothold.
But instead of scouting this pretension, and utterly spurning it from the Government, new concessions to slavery were gravely propounded as the means of pacification—like a new sargifice officer.

and their platform claimed constitutional protection for slavery in all territories, whether now belonging to the Republic or hereafter acquired. This con-cession was the ultimatum on which was staked their continued loyalty to the Union—as the continuance continued loyalty to the Union—as the continuance of the slave trade had been the original condition on which South Carolina and Georgia had entered into the Union. And the reason, though wicked, was obvious. It was because without such opportunity of expansion slavery would be stationary, while the Free States, increasing in number, would obtain a fixed preponderance in the National Government, assuring to them the political power. Thus, at that election, the banner of the slave-masters had for its open device—not the Union as it is; but the extension and perpetuation of Human Bondage. The popular vote was against further concession, and the conspirators proceeded with their crime. The occasion, so long sought, had come. The pretext, foreseen by Jackson, was the

motive power.

But here mark well, that, in their whole conduct, But here mark well, that, in their whole conduct, the Conspirators acted naturally under the instincts implanted by slavery; nay, they acted logically, even. Such is slavery, that it cannot exist unless where it owns the government. An injustice so plain can find protection only from a government which is a reflection of itself. Cannibalism cannot exist, except under a government of cannibals. Idolatry cannot exist, except under a government of idolators. And slavery cannot exist, except under a government of slave-masters. This is positive, universal truth—at Petersburg, Constantinople, Timbuctoo or Washington. The slave-masters of our country saw that they were dislodged from the National Government, and straightway they rebelled. The Republic which they could no longer rule, they determined to ruin.

But both occasion and pretext are determined by slavery, and thus testify to the part it has constantly performed.

And the pretended right of secession is not less monstrous than the pretext or the occasion; and this too, testifies to slavery. It belongs to that broad of assumptions and perversions, of which slavery is the prolific parent. Wherever slavery prevails this pretended right is recognized, and generally with an intensity proportioned to the prevalence of slavery; as, for instance, in South Carolina and Mississippi more intensely than in Tennessee and Kentucky. It may be considered a fixed part of the slaveholding system. A pretended right to set aside the Constitution to the extent of braking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside the constitution to the extent of braking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside the text of the Constitution as stipulation as a side human nature to the extent of making mental the profice of the pretended right to set aside the constitution to the extent of braking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside the constitution to the extent of braking up the government, is the natural companion of the pretended right to set aside the text of the Constitution as stipulation as a simple and labshaped—a jargon of bad grammar—a jumble and labshaped—a jargon of First, the asserted value of the slaves, reaching to the enormous sum-total of two thousand millions of stollars, constitutes an overpowering property interest—one of the largest in the world; to which may be added the intensity and unity of purpose naturally belonging to the representatives of such a sum-total, stimulated by the questionable character of the property. But, secondly, it is a phenomenon tested by the history of revolutions, that all such movements—at least in their early days—are controlled by minorities. This is because a revolutionary minority once embarked, has before it only the single simple path of unhesitating action. While tionary minority once embarked, has before it only the single simple path of unhesitating action. While others doubt or hold back, the minority strikes and goes forward. Audacity, then, counts more than numbers, and crime counts more than virtue. This phenomenon has been observed before. "Often have I reflected with awe," says Coleridge, "on the great and disproportionate power which an individual of no extraordinary talents or attainments may exert by merely throwing off all restraint of conscience. * * The abandonment of all principle of right enables the soul to choose and act upon a principle of verong, and to subordinate to this one

conscience. * The abandonment of all principle of right enables the soul to choose and act upon a principle of wrong, and to subordinate to this one principle all the various vices of human nature." (Coleridge's Friend, Essay 16.)

These are remarkable words. But a French writer, Condorcet, the philosopher of the French Revolution, who soaled his principles by his death, urged this very phenomenon for a practical purpose. In a pamphlet, addressed to the Parliamentary Reformers of England, he sought to enlist them in a revolutionary movement, and, by way of encouragement, he boldly announces that "revolutions must always be the work of the minority—that every revolution has been the work of a minority—that the French Revolution itself was accomplished by the minority." And Brissot de Warville, another partaker and victim also in this great Revolution, declared that it was carried by not more than twenty men. The declarations were made the subject of a debate, shortly afterward, in the British Parliament, where Sheridan bore a brilliant part. They are most suggestive—even if they do not explain the early success of our conspirators. The future historian will record that the present Rebellion—notwithstanding its protracted origin, the multitudes it has enlisted and its extensive sweep—was

plain the early success of our conspirators. The future historian will record that the present Rebellion—notwithstanding its protracted origin, the multitudes it has enlisted and its extensive sweep—was at last precipitated by fewer than twenty men; Mr. Everett says by as few as ten. It is certain that, thus far, it has been the triumph of a minority; but of a minority moved, inspired, combined and aggrandized by slavery.

And now this traitorous minority, putting aside all the lurking, slimy devices of Conspiracy, steps forth in the full panoply of War. Assuming to itself all the functions of Government, it organizes States under a common head—sends ambassadors into foreign countries—levies taxes—borrows money—issues letters of marque—and sets armies in the field summoned from distant Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, as well as from nearer Virginia, and composed of the whole lawless population—the poor who cannot own slaves as well as the rich who own them—throughout the extensive region where, with Satanic grasp, this slaveholding minority claims for itself

"ample room, and verge enough The characters of heil to trace."

Pardon the language which I employ. The words of the poet do not picture too strongly the object proposed. And now these parricidal hosts stand arrayed openly against that paternal Government to which they owed loyalty, protection and affection.

(Concluded on fourth page.)

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GENERAL SHERMAN'S PROCLAMATION.

Among the most marvellous things of the past week of wonders was the proclamation of Gen. Sherman to the deserted fields and houses of Hilton Head and Beaufort. He addresses those infamous traitors, who had been but a few minutes previously aiming a murderous fire at his brethren, without cause or excuse, as fellow-citizens. Fellow-citizens of what, pray? Of the United States? Surely, if they are citizens, who are not? Who can help being citizens? How endearing must be the ties that treason will not sever? But perhaps it was designed for the Unionsever? But perhaps it was designed for the Union-loving, who would, but could not show their love. And where were they? If there had been any, would they have run away with the traitors, rather than tarry and welcome their true friends? Certhan tarry and welcome their the includes tainly not. If the poor slaves, whose masters had tried hard to compel them to leave, even shooting them for refusing, if they could await the coming army, and welcome it with unmistakable joy, surely the Union whites, had there been any, could have the Union whites, had there been any, done the same. But, says the excuser, they were frightened, and did not know but they would all be seized and butchered by the inhuman Yankees. Inleed! Did they not know as much as the slaves? Surely, no people ever heard more ghost stories of northern meanness and cruelty than the slaves, and yet they were not afraid to remain and come to our army. Another proclamation has since been made, assuring those traiters who left their Beaufort homes, that if they would come back, they should not be injured, but protected. We certainly admire the mass terly work of Capt. Dupont and his gallant crew, in the taking of that port; we admire their genius and bravery; their zeal for their country; but we are most heartily sick of this eternal cringing and creep-ing after southern traitors; men that have not only been traitors for a few weeks by accident, but who have been such in heart and life for years, and who have spared no pains and stopped at no degradation or crime to accomplish their diabolism. And then to call these Davises, Masons, Barnwells, Rhetts, etc., highminded and honorable friends! If they are hminded and honorable, what an angel mu dict Arnold have become by this time! ating and painful in the extreme, to see this servility the tup as before the baseness of those wretches was kept up as known. Our generals greatly mistake, if they suppose the people of the North, whose friends have been murdered by these high-minded Southrons, or thrust into loathsome prisons, have any sympathy with such compliments, or are fairly represented by

any such speeches.

On the other hand, in that district were 30,000 inhabitants who were not in arms against their country, and never had been; 30,000 who would gladly take up arms for the Union, and shed their blood freely for their liberty and the government; who did not flee at our approach, but came to greet and offer us their assistance. Yet not one word was said to them to show that we would protect them, or appreciated their loyalty, or would welcome their brawny arms to aid us in sustaining the American Republic Why this kind feeling and gracious proclamation towards the most impious traitors, pirates, thieves, and murderers the sun ever shone upon, (for this is what all have called them,) and this callous indifference and aversion to those who show they have in their hearts the very principles we proudly boast glow in our own bosoms? Will it still be said that traitors and pirates are better than negroes? d liberty-loving slaves are not equal to Union-hating whites? That honest and liberty and Union-hating loval blacks are not to be sought nor noticed, but traitors may be courted? Alas! if this be so, what can degrade or elevate a black?

can degrade or elevate a black?

Had Gen. Sherman, as he was authorized by Secretary Cameron, immediately called around him these slaves, and assured them that their masters having abandoned the government and left them, they were free; and had he invited them to enter the service as soldiers of the United States, he would at once have had an army with which he could have occupied the whole district, and seized upon the encotton crop. This, being the bonded security of Confederate stocks and basis of their capital, would have given a deadly blow to secession, and vastly strengthened our cause both at home and abroad. We are only relieved from our humiliation by the refreshing tide of popular feeling that comes rolling in from every quarter, and the encouraging words of Secretary Cameron. The people well know that slaveholders have begotten this hideous and dethat slaveholders have begotten this indeous and de-formed monster, and they will never rest until the government casts off its fawning affection for them, and spares them no more at the expense of our own precious friends. They as well know that a black precious friends. They as well know that a black friend is better than a white foe, as did Jackson, and demand that they shall be treated as such. ever may have been our theories heretofore, it is now indisputably settled that it is the whites of the South, and not the blacks, who are unfit for freedom; not the slaves, but their masters, who would come North, and overrun our fair fields, and pot only corrupt our morals, but ruin our land. The only true friends of American freedom, industry and government, to be found in the land of whips and chains, are the negroes. They have poisoned no springs, nor committed any such fiendish slaughters as that perpetrated by the heartless traitors of Guyandotte. of all that is rational, shall we discard our friends, the blacks, and court the men who lay trains to powder-magazines to blow us up? Heaven restore us

DOGRERRY IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Of all the misfortunes that have befallen us, this unhappy war, that of pacification Generals is the greatest. A corporal can't be sent with a file of men to forage in an orchard, or potatoe patch, but he issues a proclamation, announcing the most friendly and pacific designs. He comes only to restore peace, to see the laws enforced, and the Constitution upheld, and above all things, will not disturb the intitutions of the said orchard or potatoe patch had not sent our forces into Western Virginia, where we have already decimated our forces, by the fruit-less enterprise, till Gen. McClellan issued his proclaless enterprise, thi Gen. McClenan issued his procua-mation, that the country was only to be protected, and especially in its institutions, and an iron hand was to be laid upon any attempt to touch the cause of the war, or the least manifestation of disrespect for slavery. The same farce has been played in every direction, and always with the effect of neu-tralizing the whole labor of the campaign. The rebels have every where been assured that no harm was meant them, and above all things the pet "nig-ger" was not to be molested. It is true that these Dogberrys always professed an intention to "comprehend all manner of vagrom men, and bid them stand in the Prince's name;" but those that would not stand, have been most faithfully told they were "not the men they took them for." And as to thieves, they were always treated by the safe rule of letting them "prove themselves such by stealing out of your company." With this emollient practice of proclamation poultices to rebellion, wherever it breaks out, it is no wonder that we have made no

advance towards curing it.

The last case of this kind seems to prove worse than all others. An immense fleet and army halanded on the shores of South Carolina, before wh the rebels fled like chickens before a hawk, and left us in the full possession of every thing-negroes a all. Instead of improving upon this, as a General would have done, and advanced to a commanding position, Gen. Sherman, the commander of this enterprise, sets to writing a proclamation, in which he tells the rebels of that eminent nest of treason, that he has only landed a small force, for their protection, and purposes of peace generally, but with all deferand purposes of peace generally, but with all deference to a "great sovereign State, and to a proud and hospitable people"! Then, to the people who began the rebellion, and besieged Major Anderson Fort Sumter, he appeals in this wise:—

"Can you pursue this fratricidal war, and can you imbrue your hands in the loyal blood of your countrymen, your friends, your kinsmen, for no other object than to unlawfully disrupt the Confederacy of a great people, a Confederacy established by your own hands, in order to set up, were it possible, an independent Government, under which you can never live in peace, prosperity and quietness?"

prosperity and quietness? When this affectionate address was prepared, our sapient General was somewhat at a loss for listeners. sapient General was somewhat at a loss for instehers. There were plenty of our black friends about, who were loyal, and who had not fled, and were ready to attest their loyalty by their acts. But he could not talk in this style to them. They were niggers. So he starts a flag of truce into the country, to run down an English clergyman, he had heard of. They cound santher clergyman, he had heard of. found another clergyman—a Carolinian—whom they coaxed to read the proclamation, and as a favor to take it to the Englishman; while he assured them that no Carolinian would pay the least regard to it! So he might have known, if he had possessed any common sense. But it is our fate that common essed any

sense is not the sense of our Generals—especially if they have an important position. And this splendid movement of our Army and Navy is to be toned down into a force, of which Dogberry himself might have been ashamed, all in fear of disturbing the blessed institution! This is the crowning glory, thus far, of the landing of our fleet. What more it will come to, we must patiently wait to see.—Ashtabula Sentine!

GEN. HALLECK'S POLICY.

The very just criticisms of Gen. Halleck's order No. 3 * — that which forbids fugitive slaves to enter his lines—and the profound dissatisfaction which that useless and ill-timed document has created amon the people, who have furnished and are furnishin the people, who have furnished and are turnishing the Army of the West with the troops who will squelch the rebellion in the Valley of the Mississippi, ought to admonish the General to reconsider his action. The people believe that as a military measure his order is absurd, and that, as a concession to the demands of treason in Misson. a it is wicked. They are giving their money and best blood that secession may be baffled and put down; and while doing so, they will demand of those in front of their armies, the use of all the means which civilized warfare sand tions, that the life and treasure expended in the per-ilous struggle may not be wasted. If the loss of slaves will bring armed rebels to their senses, and teach them that treason has its immediate and heavy penalties, they want to see a sable cloud hanging to the rear of every column of Federal troops. If fugitive slaves can furnish information of the movements and objects of the enemy, they want to see the way to Gen. Halleck's headquarters kept clear, so that the information may come in. If it is necessary in the progress of the campaigh to wipe slavery and its abominations out of Missouri, they want a General who is willing to bear the besom of destruction in his right hand. All these demands are frustrated by the order of which we speak. Rebellion remains in possession of its most coveted treasures, and derives from the labor of its slaves the life-blood which nourishes it and gives it strength. In a population whos loyalty is questioned, and where "neutrality" is the utmost that we can look for, the rebel leaders march and countermarch, fit out and send off expeditions and countermarch, it out and send off expectations and detachments, and the loyal slaves, being forbidden to enter our lines, there are none to carry the news, and the blow comes before the word. Gen. Halleck has shut up the sources of information. His pickets are instructed to drive from his outposts the most loyal men in the State; he leaves in rebel pos-session the cause of the war and the motive for its continuance; and all for a reason that, to men in civil life, would seem, if not given to the world by the Commander of a Department, to be at once hypocritical and puerile—he cannot admit negroes within his lines, because they will carry back information to the enemy! What wonderful lines are man can pass if his toes are turned toward the camp , according to the reason given for the order any black man can break through as soon as his heels are turned from the camp—a back-action military rat-trap which lets nobody in, but permits everybody to go out !- Chicago Tribune

Head-quarters, Department of Missouri. St. Louis, November 20th, 1861. It has been represented that important information respecting the numbers and conditions of our forces is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such persons be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp

or of any forces on the march, and that any within our lines be immediately excluded therefore within our lines be immediately excluded therefrom II. The General Commanding wishes to impre upon all officers in command of posts and troops the field the importance of preventing unauthorize persons of every description from entering and leav ing our lines, and of observing the greatest precaution in the employment of agents and clerks in confiden-

By order of Major-General Halleck.
WILLIAM MCMICHAEL,

GEN. JOHN A. DIX.

Gen. Dix, with the Navy of the United States at his command, and capable of raining hell-fire almost across any part of the entire peninsula from Chesa-peake Bay or the Atlantic coast, has adopted, as a nishment for their sins, the issue of a proclamation Not a proclamation in any way akin to that famous saying which created the John A. Dix whom the people loved to think of as a man to be remembered

the authority of the United States is asserted, even if in the counting of the buttons of the fishermen of the counting of the buttons of the fishermen of the counties of Accomac and Northampton in Virginia. But oh! that a Major-General should feel it his duty to truckle and cringe to criminals who have destroyed the beacon lights of commerce, who have sent their means and their sons to the main land of Virginia to steep their souls in the blood of the patriots who have been slaughtered at Bull Run, at

These traitors are told by John A. Dix, that he sends men amongst them of their own breed, near neighbors, who understand their peculiar institutions, the loyal forces. customs and laws, men who value property, nigger property, men who would rather shoot a white man than lower by any act of his the market value of the 56 against 70. cheapest nigger. According to the proclamation of John A. Dix, it would be only necessary for the rebels of Accomac and Northampton to form a breastwork of Accomac and Northampton to form a preasurors of niggers to ensure their immunity from the guns of the soldiers of John A. Dix. It would not do to injure that kind of property. It would be unconstitutional to do so. It might irritate our dear brethren of the South. Take their pigs, their homes, their their sides, slav their their sides, slav their sides. altars, their wives, lay waste their fields, slay their children—but O, spare the sacred demon-god, the

The Rev. Sydney Smith, when accused by a brother lification. clergyman of using sarcasm as a weapon against a presumptuous brother of the cloth, replied that vern ought not to have the choice of the instrument which they are destroyed. The nail or the small ator. Not so with the vermin of Accomac and the property and rights under the Constitut Northampton. The greatest care is exercised by laws of all loyal citizens. John A. Dix to have the instruments selected exact-

"The Brigade General is Henry M. Lockwood, of "The Brigade General is Henry M. Lockwood, of Delaware—a State identical in some of the distinctive features of its Social Organization with your own. Portions of his force come from counties in Maryland bordering on one of yours. From him and from them you may be assured of the sympathy of near neighbors, as well as friends, if you repel it not by hostile resistance or attack."

And with all this rose-water, we are told that the and signals for the storm-driven mariner; that the is not one of war, of menace, of redress ruthless injuries flagrantly committed against the whole human family. Why should John A. Dix under such circumstances meet opposition? Why should be dream of it? The very fiends of hell, in its lowest depths, would give him free course to cool their fiery chains, should he send such a me them. But lest he should not have shaped things exactly to suit them, the proclamation was read yester-day, read to a large number of Virginians in a farm near the Potomac, and it was declared by

them to be entirely satisfactory.

How elated John A. Dix must feel when he knows

the blast of an archangel, and quickened the heart's blood of millions, will they be satisfied that he should make a speciality for himself of the tender care of the rty in negroes in Accomac and Northamp-Why not let it take its chance in the turmoil and surge of the bloody conflict with the other house-gods and stock of the rebels? Why should house-gods and stock of the rebels? Why should we be compelled to bend the knee, and lick their foul and loathsome sores? Why not let the doomed and damned thing stand or fall of its own strength or rottenness? Let our brave army not be converted into a band of nigger-catchers. Let the stain not the whole number must be left in his chains. As the army proceeds south, it should deal with slavery

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1861.

MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE TO CONGRESS.

PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF." To the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned, citizens of , respectfully submit -That as the present formidable rebellion against the General Government manifestly finds its root and nourishment in the system of chattel slavery at the South; as the leading conspirators are slaveholders, who constitute an oligarchy avowedly hostile to all free institutions; and as, in the nature of things, no solid peace can be maintained while the cause of this able revolt is permitted to exist; your honorable body is urgently implored to lose no time in enacting, under the war power, the total abolition of slavery throughout the country - liberating unconditionally the slaves of all who are rebels, and, while not recognizing the right of property in man, allowing for the emancipated slaves of such as are loyal to the government a fair pecuniary award, in order to facilitate an amicable adjustment of difficulties; and thus to bring the war to a speedy and beneficent termination, and indissolubly to unite all sections and

Now that Congress is in session, and various itions have already been submitted to it on this subject, let there be no unnecessary delay in forwarding emancipation petitions to that body. Send them lirectly to the proper Senators and Representatives from the various States and Districts. They will, of course, go free of postage. Send them in!

all interests of the country upon the enduring basis

of universal freedom.

THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The first session of the thirty-seventh Congress assembled at Washington on Monday last. The responsibilities devolving upon that body, in view of the critical state of the country, exceed in solemnity those which have met any similar gathering since 1790, and call for corresponding wisdom and firmness in their discharge. All eyes are turned to it with those with which the General has encircled himself —lines which, according to Order No. 3, no black of hope and uncertainty. Will it intelligently understand the nature of the present terrible crisis, and boldly apply the only safe and lasting remedy without doubt or wavering? Or will it, in a perverse and cowardly spirit, refuse to look the demands of the hour fully in the face, and insanely attempt to again 'daub with untempered mortar," renew the old "covenant with death," seek peace through an "irrepressible conflict," and combine harmoniously together eternally antagonistical elements? Shortly, we trust, it will be flooded with petitions, signed by all classes of the people, without regard to personal prejudices or party lines, asking it to strike at the cause of the rebellion by the total abolition of slavery under the war power, and thus to place the government upon the solid foundation of universal liberty. The request will be a righteous one-the reasons for it are pressing, unanswerable, multitudinous, overwhelming-the power to grant it is ample, and the right to exercise that power is as unquestionable as any right possessed by the government for self-preservation, and "to promote the general welfare, and preserve the blessings of liberty." Will Congress give heed to that request, or express its wish that the President, as commanderin-chief of the army and navy, will do so? How much is depending upon that question!

From the prompt introduction of the subject, in both houses of Congress, on Monday, in various forms, we take great encouragement. In the House, Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, offered the following res-

Resolved, by the House of Representatives of the United States of America—First, That in behalf of the people of these States, we do solemnly declare, that the war in which we are now engaged against the insurgent and spoken of by the fire-side in years to come, and as a lesson and example to our children.

No, this proclamation has little of the ring of the metal of his other brief saying that struck fire from the people as sure as steel will from the flint. His present proclamation falls like lead on the Northern heart.

We are glad of this movement, glad to know that the proclamation of the proclamation falls like lead on the Northern heart.

States, yet the war now existing must be conducted according to the usages and rights of military service, and during its conjugated authority. bodies now in arms against the government has for its object the suppression of such rebellion, and the revise that such order of emancipation be issued when ever the same will avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power of

> Mr. Dunn, of Indiana, moved to lay the resolution on the table, but the motion was disagreed to by yeas

> The question recurring on Mr. Eliot's resolution Mr. Roscoe L. Conkling, of New York, proposed an ed and amendments submitted. He was in favor of the main features of the proposition, but desired mod-

Mr. Campbell, of Pennsylvania, gave notice that he would call up the following on the 17th inst.:

Resolved. That in legislating to meet the exigencies tooth comb might be used at the discretion of the operator. Not so with the vermin of Accomac and the property, slaves included, of all rebels, and protect

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, submitted the follow ing for future consideration :-

whereas, Slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas, there can be no solid and permanent peace in this republic so long as that institution exists within it; and whereas, slaves are now used by the rebels as an essential means of supporting and protracting the war; and whereas, by the law of nations, it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power; therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all our Generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or aid in quelling the rebellion.

2d. And be it further resolved, That the United States pledge the faith of the nation to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens who are or shall remain active in supporting the Union for all the loss they may sustain by virtue of this resolution.

In the Senate, Mr. Trumbull, of Illinois, gave no tice that he would introduce a bill to confiscate the property of the rebels, and to give freedom to persons in the rebel slave States.

All these propositions are substantially alike-emancipating all the slaves, and making satisfactory How elated John A. Dix must receive the head of the same John A. Dix who uttered the brave words of February, which reverberated through the land like wisely so modifying his own proposition as to make it apply exclusively to the slaves of rebel masters.

The axe must be laid at the root of the tree: in other words, the entire slave system must be abolished at a blow, or there will be another "treasuring up of wrath against the day of wrath, and righteous reveor rottenness? Let our brave army not be converted into a band of nigger-catchers. Let the stain not rest on their souls that they aided in the enslavement or blasted the hopes for liberty of a single human being.—Paterson, (N. J.) Guardian.

no atonement, no saleguard, no pacincation: not one of the whole number must be left in his chains. As the army proceeds south, it should deal with slavery as the children of Israel were commanded to act in the land of Cansan:—

When ye are passed over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then ye shall drive out all the inhabitants of the land from before you, and destroy all their pictures and molten images, and quite pluck down all their high places. But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall habitants of the land from before you, then it shall cone to pass that those which ye let remain of them shill be pricks in your eyes, and thoras in your sides, and exi you in the lond wherein ye duell. Moreover, it shall cone to pass that I shall do unto you, as I thought to do unto them."

So, if this grand and providential opportunity to uterly abolish slavery be permitted to pass unimproved by the government, within whose grasp that vist system of lust and blood is now constitution placed for its extermination-if any number of slaveholders or slaves, however small, are allowed to exist as hitherto under the old conditions of the Unionthen there must follow in due time fiercer contentons, heavier judgments, and bloodier results. These oppressors and their victims will, in that case, assuredly be "pricks in our eyes, and thorns in our sides," as a people, and the judgments in store for the for mer will also be visited upon our own heads. If their number be reduced, by confiscation and the chances of war, to a hundred masters and a thousand slaves, yet if these should be recognized by the govornment as in constitutional relations, and the power of the government should be pledged to secure the on of the one party and the servitude of the other, the source of this rebellion, of our national dishonor and degradation, will remain untouched, and the contagion will spread on every side, carrying desolation and horror in its train. For a hundred masters will be followed by ten thousand, and ten sand by four hundred thousand as at present, and these again steadily augmented; and a the slaves will be multiplied into millions, until a new volcanic explosion shall again rend the nation asunder, and fill it with lamentation and woe. One slave left to bear the yoke and clank the chain will suffice to upheave the republic from its foundations, and to dissever any Union cemented with his blood. Away, then, with all nostrums in the treatment of this disease! The probe must go to the quick, and to pre-Those who connsel otherwise either desire the death of the patient, or are in a besotted state of mind. Every hour of delay is fraught with danger, and adds to the certainty of the issue. Prompt, bold, thorough action is demanded by every principle of justice and every feeling of humanity.

There is a class of utterly unscrupulous and thor-

ighly desperate enemies of emancipation here at the North, who, with the mask of loyalty covering their treasonable visages, are exerting themselves to the utmost to paralyze the strong right arm of government, and to encourage the Southern traitors never to yield to its supremacy, by audaciously threatening rebellion on our own free soil, in case Congress or the President shall decree the abolition of slavery, even to save the republic! Whipped into decency for a time by wholesome fear of public indignation in a tangible shape, they are now boldly revealing the traitorous spirit which still controls them, and using the language f menace and bluster more and more defiantly. Con spicuous among these are the editors of such satanic arnals as the Boston Courier, Post, and Herald, the rnal of Commerce, New York Express, Bennett's Herald, &c. &c., as our frequent quotations from them, in that receptacle of pro-slavery scoundrelism, the REFUGE OF OPPRESSION," abundantly show. No worse men, none more seditious, none more dangerous, can be found incarcerated at Fort Lafavette or Fort Warren. Their columns are crowded with inmatory appeals, with base misstatements, with lying declarations, in the service of "the devil and his angels." The negro is with them a butt of ridicule, an object of contempt, fit only to be "weighed a tyrant's balance with his gold," and condemn to life-long bondage. Nothing so rouses their brutal assions and malignant feelings as a proposition to tore him to himself, to treat him as a rational being, and to cease outraging the image of God in his perso Whoever advocates such a measure of instice and mercy they assail as a madman or fanatic, and exhaust the vocabulary of defamation to cripple his influence for good. Rather than have slavery abolished, under any circumstances, they would a thousand times prefer to see the republic dismembered, or the Southern Confederacy triumphant over the whole land. Take fresh specimen of the hateful spirit that actuates

them. Here it is. Referring to the general effort now making to obtain universal emancipation "under the war power," laws and rights—what are we to suppose Colonel not only as a measure of justice, but to put an end to

"When that policy is adopted, the Treasury will close its doors, and New York cease to supply the sinews of war. When that policy is adopted, the army will be demoralized, and the Generals that now lead it to victory will return to their homes in sorrow and shame. (!) When that policy is adopted, Abraham Lincoln, if we know him, will not be President duty to put down this rebellion; and I solemnly enjoin upon the United States?"

anything more explicit than this to encourage them in their work of treason and piracy? Is not the author of such menaces to be classed with the vilest in the land? His code of morality is clearly that of brigands and slave-mongers, so far as the rights and interests of four millions of the people are concerned.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The Message of President Lincoln was delivered to tongress on Tuesday last. Its chief, almost its sole to serve the cause for which I took up arms. merit is its brevity, considering the staple of which it is made; and yet the tremendous issues of the to be briefly disposed of. Every body says Mr. Lincoln is an "honest" man; but it is at least equally certain that he is very weak in his joints, and wholly isqualified to lead or inspire. His message is very feeble and rambling, and ridiculous as a State paper, which ought to be high-toned, vigorous, comprehensive, and historically important. Incredible as it may seem, it wholly ignores the only cause of that rebellion which has already withdrawn twelve States from the Union, (for Missouri has just been formally voted into the Southern Confederacy,) and cost the Government a fearful amount of blood and treasure! Was

there ever stupidity or folly beyond this?

The President makes a merit of his imbecility by saying-" In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection, I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate-into a violent and remorsel revolutionary struggle." How very obliging!

In regard to such contrabands as the fortunes of war may bring within the control of the Government, new territory in which to colonize them! What nor sense! If their presence can be endured as slaves, can it not be when they are freemen? If their labor was valuable, nay, indispensable when extorted under the lash, will it be any less so when it is fairly compensated? Let Congress propose no colonization heme, unless they desire fresh "agitation" and unending conflict. Nothing is wanted but emancipation: after that, everything will work well for all parties. President Lincoln may colonize himself if he choose. but it is an impertinent act, on his part, to propose the getting rid of those who are as good as himself.

proved, as the simplest act of justice which has been to so long and so meanly withheld :-

"If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the inlependence and sovereignty of Havti and Liberia, I im unable to discern it. I am unwilling, however, to mangurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress. I submit for your condideration the expediency of an appropriation for main-aining a Charge d'Affaires near each of these new States. It does not admit of doubt that important symmetrial advantages might be secured by feverable. mmercial advantages might be secured by favorable aties with them."

WHAT TRUE PATRIOTISM DEMANDS.

"THE CHOICE BY LOT. Extract of a letter from a prisoner in Richmond, Va., dated Nov. 12, 1861:

'The usual quiet of our prison was broken in upon on Sunday afternoon by the appearance of Gen. J. H. Winder, commander of this place, who read an order from the authorities, directing him to select by ballot one Colonel of the United States Army, to stand as hostage for W. Smith, lately convicted in Philadelphia for piracy; the lot fell upon Col. Michael Corcoran, of the 66th New York Regiment, who will be confined in a dungeon and await the execution of Smith; and should he be hung, he will suffer the like death. There were also selected in the same mode, three captains, who, together with the balance of the colonels, all the majors and lieutenant-colonels, to the number of thirteen, are to be held as hostages for the thirteen privateer's men whose trial took place a few days since in New York, and the jury failed to agree. What the action of our Government may be, we have the bester believe theirs the property of the contract of days since in New York, and the jury failed to agree-days since in New York, and the jury failed to agree-What the action of our Government may be, we know not, but can hardly believe they will jeopard the lives of innocent men, for retaliation will surely take place, and when once commenced, there is no knowing when it will stop,—perhaps not before our land is deluged in innocent blood!"—Evangelist.

In the above extract from a letter, we see displayed at once, not only the brutal character of the Southern rebels, who are ready to kill innocent men in revenge for the death of guilty ones-to violate both law and justice in retaliation for the punishment, by due process of law, of atrocious criminals-but the unhappy faint-heartedness of some one of the Northern prisoners, whose correspondent has judiciously withheld

The plea of the unnamed prisoner is, that the regular course of execution of United States law be intermitted, because vengeance is threatened by the accomplices of the pirates, upon certain loyal and valiant soldiers, now in their power. Let us inquire, first, if this is a reasonable plea, and next, what the soldiers in question, themselves, either in a body, r by their commander, would be likely to say to it.

Is the execution of law to be abandoned, on the ground that the open criminals against whom it ope rates declare that they will act worse and worse while it continues to be enforced? Does not the question answer itself? Is not the stringent execution of a just law more needful, precisely in proportion to the number and boldness of the infractions of it?

What would be the consequence of a concession such as the Evangelist recommends? If the threat of new outrages on the part of the enemy be all that is necessary to block the movements of the United States Government in any particular direction, will not the same principle be further applied? What if the rebel leaders select from their prisoners a certain number to be hung for every new advance of any division of the Federal army! for the sailing of every new naval expedition against them ! for the assault of any new portion of their coast line! for the continuance of the blockade after a specified time! Should such threats be allowed to paralyze our forces and prevent our action? Is not plain that the granting of one such demand would be the signal for more, and that if we act on such a principle, we must surrender all for which we are now contending?

What would Col. Corcoran and his brave associates say to the United States Government in view of such a proposition? For the sake of the country whose citizens (native or adopted) they are-for the sake of certain principles of justice and freedom which are sailed by tyrants, for the extension of slavery-in defence of the Constitution, the laws, and the regularly chosen governmental administrators of them they have chosen to make immense sacrifices, of various sorts; to leave their business and their homes, and to expose themselves to the privations of the camp, the dangers of the battle-field, and the risk of death or imprisonment. When those dangers have been greator more varied than they expected-for many of these brave soldiers supposed themselves contending with a civilized people, and did not reckon upon drink ing from poisoned wells, or being bayoneted while lying hopelessly wounded, on the battle-field-have they ever proposed, in view of these new manifestations of the character of their opponents, to withdraw from the conflict themselves, or to have the country withdraw from it? Never! Every one of these de velopments of barbarism was a new reason for energetically pushing the advance against the barbarians. and has been so understood, alike by officers and soldiers. And now that a new atrocity is proposed by the fighters for slavery-now that they threaten to kill a certain innocent man, unless the country whose laws and rights they are attacking will abandon those not only as a measure of justice, but to put an end to the cause of the rebellion, the Journal of Commerce the cause of the rebellion, the Journal of Commerce will the not rather say—When I enlisted, I of will ultimately meet with even a werse doom than them not to swerve one hair's breadth from the line of that Do Jefferson Davis and his traitorous band need duty, for the sake of making favorable conditions for me. To die for my country cannot be other than glorious to me. To shrink from giving my life for her cause now would be as shameful as to flee from the battle-field. If the enemy fulfil so base a threat, it will be worse for their cause than the loss of a battle. Let them fulfil it if they dare. I ask no favors at their hands. But if my death shall mark the hour of my country's determination to persist in the maintenunce of her righteous cause, and never to yield to the demands of treason, I shall die not only happy, but triumphant. My death will have done more, even than my life,

Thus, it seems to me, every brave, loyal and patriotic man would speak. And the country would prohour, if properly treated in such a document, are not tect the lives of her gallant sons far more effectually by utterly disregarding such threats of the traitors, than by yielding to them .- c. K. W.

SPEECH OF HON, CHARLES SUMNER.

We publish entire, in our present number, the admirable Speech of Mr. Sumner, on "The Rebellionits Origin and Main-Spring," as made before immense and applauding audiences in this and other cities.

Mr. Sumner delivered this Speech in New York before the Young Men's Republican Union. William Curtis Noyes, Esq., presided, and introduced the speaker with a very complimentary parallel between him and James Otis. Mr. Sumner was welcomed heartily, and his address of two hours and a half wa listened to with profound attention. The allusions to Fremont, and his remarks on the instructions of Mr. Cameron to General Sherman, together with all the arguments in favor of the eradication of slavery, were received with uproarious demonstrations of ap the President suggests the expediency of acquiring the evening, for his re-assertion and eloquent enforceto Hon. Charles Sumner, the distinguished orator of ment of the political principles herein indorsed." The following resolution was cordially adopted :-

Resolved, That'the doctrine enunciated by Major General Fremont, with respect to the emancipation of the laves of rebels, and the more recent utterances of General Fremont, with respect to the emancipation of the laves of rebels, and the more recent utterances of Gen. Burnside, Senator Wilson, and the Hon. George Bancroft, in this city, and of Col. John Cochrane and the Hon. Simon Cameron, at Washington, foreshadowing the eventual rooting out of slavery, as the cause of the rebellion, indicate alike a moral, political, and military necessity; and, in the judgment of this meeting, the public sentiment of the North is now fully in the getting rid of those who are as good as himself.

Here is a recommendation to be most heartily aproved, as the simplest act of justice which has been this contest between civilization and barbarism.

The Tribune says that after the dismissal of the vast semblage, at the Cooper Institute, a number of the friends of Mr. Sumner entertained him at a collation at Curet's, No. 742 Broadway, where brilliant speeches were made by William Curtis Noyes, Esq.; the Hon. Charles Sumner; William M. Evarts, Esq.; the Rev. Mr. Conway, of the Hawkins Zouaves; the Rev. Prof. Hitchcock; Cephas Brainard, Esq.; Richard C. McCormick, Esq.; and Elliot C. Cowdin, Esq. The sentiment that emancipation was to be the means of crushing the rebellion—the means of prosecuting the war, and not the end of the war-ruled the hour.

LIBERTY AND SLAVERY.

LIBERTY is of God, and has upon it His image and perscription. When His divinest Son entered upon mission, he declared, "The Spirit of the Lord is apon me, because He hath anointed me...to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound"; and one of his poblest commentators, the apostle Paul, said: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." But it is marvellous that in this age of the Christian era, and in this boasted country of civil and religious freedom, there should be any need of argument to prove that liberty is the birth-right of all !-here, where the gov. ernment sprung into existence upon the immortal claration that "all men are created free and equal," and with the inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"! But so it is; and the first principles of humanity, republicanism, and the Christian gospel, have to be proclaimed anew in the face of the vilest despotism the world has ever seena despotism that is now in rebellious arms against

Wherever the infernal power of American slavery has put down its cloven foot, there have followed blight, and barrenness, and every form of physical and noral evil. The whole South-land is a demons proof of this. There is evidently no civilization there worthy of the age, or worthy to be called Christian, even in the lowest sense; and bowie-knives and pis tols have long been its most fitting coat of arms. Its ignorance, aside from its few slaveholders and aristocrats, is proverbial; and the knowledge of the few has only made them worse, they having no divine principles to guide them. "Traitors and rebels," not only to human, but to divine government, is the character of nearly all of them. And they have gone on waxing worse and worse continually from the first. Under their controlling influence, the general government has thus degenerated, until it has, at last, me near sinking under the weight of its corruption. Our revolutionary fathers were not the mad advocates of slavery that so many of their descendants are-no ven the Southern branch of them; for the noblest of hem acknowledged it to be an evil and a curse, and deplored its existence. Could they have clearly foreseen our day, I do not believe they would have compromised with it-such as Jefferson and Henry, But this question of Liberty in America should not

e narrowed down to a consideration of the rights and laims of the enslaved alone. Their rights and claims, of course, come first with every true philanthropist and if there were but one innocent human being in hains, hurled down from manhood to brutality, that n itself would be a sufficient reason why heaven and earth should be moved for his deliverance; for, strike down only one man's rights, governmentally, and you disturb the equilibrium of the moral and social fabric, and set an example which, if followed, would ruin the race. And what are governments, that they should presume to barter away human rights, or to compronise them, for their own selfish ends? Whenever they do such deeds, and to the extent that they do them, they cease to be legitimate governments, and come conspiracies against God and humanity. And the oft-repeated sentiment, that governments are for man and not man for them, needs to become a sentiment in all hearts, and not mere words upon the lips, and to be carried out in deeds. To sacrifice a race in order to save a government is diabolical; and none but moral idiots will think that a government can be served in that way. The demonstration is to-day before us all, that a nation built on slavery as even only one of its pillars, is as a house built on the sand. All of our politicians and statesmen ought to be convinced of this by the inevitable war that has come pon us; and if they are not, God grant that their leadership may soon be taken from them, and given to

more enlightened men! If there be any truth in the teachings of Jesus as o his intimate relationship to Mankind, every time that a human being is bought and sold, he himself is bought and sold. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, we have done it unto me," is his word. Let politicians and states men, then, beware how they turn Judases at this perilous hour, and "South-side" priests also. "It were better for them that a mill-stone were tied to their necks, and they drowned in the depths of the sea," than that they should now stand on the side of slavery. God is calling upon this nation in the trum pet tones of a terrible retributive Providence to "let the oppressed go free," and they who obstinately put

his, for they sin against greater light This conflict in which we are now engaged is only the extension of the irrepressible "conflict of the ages"-the conflict between freedom and despotism All the divinest struggles of the past, from Moses to the present time, have been for Liberty-for personal, civil and religious liberty; and by its heaven born spirit have all the noblest words in all languages, and all the noblest deeds, been inspired. Nor does our common humanity remember with gratitude and approval any but the friends of freedom. It is to them that all durable monuments are built. Blot out from the history of the race the records of the lives of those who have given themselves, in living and dy ing martyrdom, to the cause of Liberty, and you would leave the remnant of that history a vile scroll, which would tell mainly of man's depravity, meanness and servility. And but for the lovers and friends of liberty that have gone before us, this nineteenth century would have been far from the apparently glorious century that it is. An unresisted despotism would have been the grave of our civilization, and ruffianism would have ruled and ruined the race. Let Jeff. Davis triumph, and what a barbarous nation would this become !- or the pro-slavery leaders of the North. Progress in the arts and sciences, and in true religion and philanthropy, can flourish only where there is lib-

As, too, we estimate the conflicts between Liberty and Despotism in the past, so will posterity esting the conflict in which we are engaged, and judge us. The Garrisons, Phillipses, Quincys, Mays, Gerrit Smiths, Sumners and Cheevers, in the "ir pressible conflict" of to-day, are the Adamses, Hancocks, Franklins and Jeffersons of '76. And let us not build monuments to our fathers, and revile our brothers; but take such positions as those who are to come after us will honor-as God will approve and

New Music. Oliver Ditson & Co., 277 Washington Street, Boston, have just issued the following musical books :-

The Parlor Harp: A Collection of Songs, Gles, Anthems, &c., adapted to Schools, Social Parties, and the Family Circle. By Asa Fitz.

The Union Collection of Popular Duetts, for Violin

or Flute] and Piano. Arranged by S. Winner. Winner's Perfect Guide for the Violin, in which the structions are so clearly and simply treated, as to nake it unnecessary to require a teacher. For pracice, more than 150 operatic and popular airs are added, orming a complete collection of the best melodies of

An exceedingly interesting and valuable dissourse was delivered at Music Hall, on Sunday last, y SAMUEL JOHNSON, minister of the independent church at Lynn, on the views, feelings and position of the government and people of England, respecting the rebellion in this country. Instead of attempting to give any analysis of it, we hope to present it entire to our readers, in a future number. Mr. Johnson having somewhat recently returned from a visit abroad, is enabled to speak intelligently upon this subject.

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, is to lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, at Music Hall, on Monday evening next; and before the "Fraternity," at Tremont Temple, Tuesday evening. Both lectures will, doubtless, draw crowded audiences.

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FOWLY CROSWELL, Esq.: Dear Sir,-I have just read your letter to Colonel Cochrane. It gratifies me not a little to find that your influence, which, so long as twenty, thirty, and even forty years ago, was so very potent, is given to the furtherance of his wise and timely views on a point of vital importance to the country. You agree with the Colonel in the duty of availing ourselves of the black man's help to put down the rebels. I regret your mistake that the Abohtionists do not also agree with him. Your public declaration, that they do not, is of very injurious tendency-not to them only, but (and this is of far greater consequence) to the country, and to the sacred cause in which the whole country should be united.

You desire it to be, and to be known and felt to be. that all classes of our people stand with Colonel Cochrane in this respect. And, in your judgment, they all do, excepting the Abolitionists-or, as you phrase it, "excepting in Abolition quarters." Your exception is not warranted by facts. From the breaking out of the Rebellion until the present time, the Abolitionists, baying been constantly in earnest to crush it, have been constantly eager to secure to this end the help of black men as well as white men. I am myself an Abolitionist. Nevertheless, I have written and spoken much for the identical position taken by Colonel

Instead of holding up the Abolitionists as opposed to Colonel Cochrane's views, you ought to do them the justice to acknowledge that, from the first, these views have been theirs also. I am not asking you to relax your opposition to their Abolition doctrines. Denounce these, if you will, more emphatically than ever. Expose to the utmost their folly in believing that the abolition of slavery would be an effective means for routing the rebels. Only admit that, however wrong they are in other respects, they are clearly identified with these views of Colonel Cochrane.

I confess that I am sadly disappointed in this war. I took it for granted that our whole people would very soon be in favor of employing all means to bring it to the speediest end. The Abolitionisis are. But considerable portions of all other parties are not. Without denying that salvation can come to my country alone through her penitence for her oppression, I, nevertheless, cannot hope for such penitence as long she is so infatuated as to be unwilling to be saved by whatever muscles and means. The best I can as yet hope for (and even for this hope there is but too couragement) is, that the whole North may soon rally around the position taken by Colonel Cochrane, yourself and the Abolitionists.

But you will say that the Abolitionists are in favo of abolishing slavery. It is true that they are. And this, if you please, is their folly-nay, their wickedness, if you will so have it. Nevertheless, why argue from this folly and wickedness that they are not with Colonel Cochrane, when you see that they are?

I am not writing an eulogy upon the Abolitionists. If I were, I would say that no other men are more cordially in the armed movement against the rebels. I would say that, in proportion to their numbers, no other men have furnished more soldiers or more comforts for soldiers and soldiers' families. «I would say that none of them have come under so much as the slightest suspicion of indulging the secession spirit, or the slightest suspicion of sympathy with the rebels. I would say that Abolitionist is only another name for an intense hater of the rebellion. Moreover, I would say that they are ever ready to join hands with all in this great national fight against rebellion. They can go into it with anti-Abolitionists of every typewith those who admiringly read the New York Herald, the New York Express, the Journal of Commerce, and with those who feel that they cannot get to sleep without having a New York Observer under their pillow. Into this fight I am as much bound to welcome the Pro-Slavery James Gordon Bennett as the Anti-Slavery Horace Greeley. The North is contending with a strong enemy whose hands may soon be strengthened with stronger enemies. In these circumstances, she cannot afford to be divided by miserable party prejudices and jealousies. To such an enemy she must present an unbroken front. I must be willing to work with you, and you with me, for the success of our arms-for in this we can work together, our differences about Abolition, or anything else, to the contrary notwithstanding. God grant that all Northern men may be able to tolerate their mutual differences so far as to stand shoulder to shoulder against the enemy!

I am not surprised to learn, as I do from the postscript of your letter, that Mr. Dickinson concurs with yourself and Colonel Cochrane. Months ago. I ascertained that he was more than a partisan—that he was a patriot, and was, therefore, ready to have the country saved by whatever means and at whatever expense to party, or to anything else.

Happy am I to know that you, and Mr. Dickinson, and many other distinguished Democrats feel that after the enemy is vanquished will be soon enough to recollect and reconstruct the Democratic party. Then, too, the Abolitionists will have more leisure for busying themselves with what Democrats regard as Abolition nonsense. Then, too, merchants, manufacturers and solemn priests may find more time and opportunity for contriving new guarantees for slavery. it, until the enemy is vanquished, let us, whatever the divisions among ourselves, be as one against him. Until then, let us care comparatively nothing to save this party or that, this Constitution or that, this system or that. Until then, let our one concern be to SAVE OUR COUNTRY. That saved, and we can restore the old Constitution or make a new one; but that lost, we shall have no need of either. That saved, there will be an ample theatre for parties to all who delight in them. That saved, and they who regard slavery as a blessing may find themselves in circumstances more favorable than ever for making the blessing abundant and sure.

The Abolitionists have always had the reputation of being bigoted and exclusive. But do not the broad common sense and the preëminent liberality which characterize them in this war go far to prove that they did not merit this bad reputation? Look, for instance, at the admirable course of their most distinguished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell
Phillips. Ever since the bombarding of Sumter, these
bold iconoclastic reformers have addressed themselves
to the new duties of the new circumstances, with a
practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the most guished leaders, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell practical wisdom unsurpassed by that of the most calm and conservative statesmen. No men are more intent on saving the country; and no men see more clearly the folly of trying to save it by a partial use of the means for saving it. Nor are any more free to work with any in putting down the rebellion. Glad are they to have even the most Pro-Slavery men for their fellows in this work. The Garrison and Phillips school of Abolitionists have wisely suspended their strictures on the Constitution, and I would that the other school might suspend their defences of it. Just now, there is not one minute, no, nor half a minute, to be spared to either school for presenting its view of the Constitution. My friend Henry B. Stanton gives a very amusing account of a gentleman, who, in the midst of the broken bones of a railroad accident, kept on arguing the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution. Indeed, so entirely unseasonable is all present talk of the Constitution, that, unless I know him to there was nothing to prevent his success but his unconquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the conquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the conquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the people of Boston the thanks of the people of Kansas are taught gratitude to their country would be lost, if the Constitution should be. They are more honest than enlightened. If left without a country, we would indeed be left without a country, we would indeed be left without a country, were we left without a country that gave us the land for it. (Applause.) My memory runneth not to tout it may not rid of what reverence there was in this saw that the reason of a superior officer. If we are "Jay-hawkers," we are so for you, through the Government. On the Constitution did not so much as give us our Government. On the contrary, our Government our Government. On the contrary, our Government our Constitution. We had our Government the raising of black flags in Kansas bearing the word and rever save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe heads out of five hundred bar-toe he whiskey, nad never touched a drop. The first on the state free. (Ap-plow whiskey, and never touched a drop. The first on the sum many miles to my next appointment: also, to a dispatch from Mashrile, At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe how, having nothing else to give, called to be for his house, on the monthing else to give, called to the sum many miles to my next appointment: also, to a dispatch from Mashrile, At Oa-toe months, and I never save a man intoxicated. At Oa-toe months in the month of the c be the friend of the country, I set down every one,

LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH TO EDWIN before we had our Constitution. The principle of "Murder!" and the efforts of the late Administration did not create the union of the American people.

We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion, (apTraditions, common memories and common hopes,
fellowship in faith and fellowship in suffering did.

We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion, (applause,) and a permanent peace. He is a coward who
wants a peace patched up with the knowledge that

war. Parts of it may be modified, and parts utterly destroyed. It may even need to be abandoned. Not only, however, shall we have a Constitution if we have a country, but we shall have a Democratic Constitution if only the Democratic principle shall have aurvived; for wherever that principle lives and reigns will be Democratic Constitutions. It produces such, and it can produce only such. England would not cease to be England, and to have a Government, by the repudiation of any, however large part of that long series of precedents which make up her Constitution. Should she lose one Constitution, she would be called a quack. The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen. Helleck, and they will make the same answer.

"Slavery" is written on their banners, and what is ours,—is it not substantially the same, when we war for the old Union? The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen. Helleck, and they will make the same answer.

"Slavery" is written on their banners, and what is ours,—is it not substantially the same, when we war for the old Union? The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen. Price what they are fighting for? they will answer "slavery." Ask the soldiers of Gen. Price what they are fighting for? they will answer.

"Slavery" is written on their banners, and what is ours,—is it not substantially the same, when we war for the old Union? The time has gone by for any one to attempt to show that the war is not waged for slavery. Ask the soldiers of Gen.

war, provided we shall have the wisdom to conquer in it (thus far we have had the power, but not the wisdom to use it)—among these blessings, I say, will be the rectored less of the control of the Kansas brigade. These man of understanding and of honest intentions; and why he has not, ere this, ended the war, and saved the country, is simply because he is a worshipper of told him his order was illegitimate, and that he would the Constitution, and feels that he can love and honor not obey it. (Cheers.) and serve and save the country only through the Con- How many soldiers' lives are you willing to give to stitution. Every breach made in the Constitution is, in his eye, a breach made in the country; and with not shed a single drop of blood to save the accursed him the alarming prospect of a lost Constitution is all system.

The slaves can be easily won over by kindness. When the good man cannot help it; for how rare is he who is able to surmount his education! And the Presithe Constitution will not let him. He is capacited purposes to sweep away, even in his native Kentucky, every obstruction in the path of our cause; but palsied of we are prosecuting this war to maintain slavery

worsimping of a paper:—quite as instruction as is the making more account of the suit of clothes than of the man who wears it! Yes, if the war shall have no But we are fighting to avoid bloodshed as far as pos-

slavery will he spare, if the sacrifice shall become necessary to his success. Rather than come under be effectual. the North, he would unhesitatingly emancipate his If the proper policy had been pursued at Beaufort There was such pride—but it exists no longer. It is sation would have been in motion towards freedom, swallowed up in the all-swallowing up pride to whip the North. When hard pressed by our victories, the South will (provided we shall continue so insane as to leave them in her hands) not hesitate to make unown people instead of the rebels, we had better stop conquerable allies of her slaves by emancipating them. now. If it be inhuman, they have means to prevent And, by the way, she would not fail to take into account the gaining of the world's sympathy by the measure. But there are persons who remind us that we will use all the means in our power to conquer the South, inasmuch as she went to war for slavery, them. (Cheers.) This war shall never close while will never consent to give it up. Superficial thinkers the shackles remain upon one slave. (Great applause.) are they. The cause of a quarrel is generally lost But we can't admit the slaves within our lines, besight of. The parties to it forget the cause in their cause they will betray us. That's a lie! I would like passion to conquer. The dog or the dollar about to ask Gen. Halleck where he learnt that slaves be-which men came to blows is not what sustains and trayed our troops. (A voice—"At Washington.") selves. That stage of the controversy in which the received more valuable information from them as to

TORY. May God move our Congress and our com-manders, whilst yet it is not too late, to get the blacks Don't understand me as denouncing Gen. Halleck;

But I must stop. I thank you for your letter. It cate the weak—and when I fail to do it, may God concannot fail to do great good. I beg you, however, demn me to the infernal regions. I have never seen not to ignore the fact that the Abolitionists are with Gen. Halleck—he is a stranger to me; but he has you, and Mr. Dickinson, and Colonel Cochrane. Be not ashamed of your company—for you may be sure that, before this fight is through with, you will feel how the slaveholders cling to their property. (Voices

ON THE WAR.

eleven o'clock, accompanied by several prominent (Great laughter.) I disengaged myself from her emanti-slavery gentlemen, and was received with hearty brace, but didn't promise to return her niggers.

order, and said that Gen. Lane had been detained by tied them to trees, and riddled them with balls. What paying his first visit to Capt. Wilkes. (Applause.) He should be done with these Indians? (A voice recommended Mr. Otis Clapp for Chairman, and he "Swear them in, and let them go.") Yes. Missouri was appointed.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Clapp said that desperate (Laughter.) diseases required strong remedies, and without any I desire to say something in behalf of the Kansas

speeches. When he set out in life, his mother said to say it, as I see the reporters here) fanatical, tem-

The Constitution but enjoined ways for making an our children will have this battle to fight over again: already existing union "a more perfect union." (Loud and repeated applause.) At last, we have the Let us, then, have no fear that we shall be left army and navy that can crush out the rebellion, but it without a Constitution. If the country survives the cannot be done without removing the disease. All war, we shall not fail to have a Constitution; and if it know that slavery is the disease, and that the war is does not, we shall not need one. Our present Consti-tution may be roughly handled by the necessities of would attempt a purification without curing the diswar. Parts of it may be modified, and parts utterly ease? He would be called a quack. The time has

tution. Should she lose one Constitution, she would quickly have another; and the Constitution which would come out of the great liberty-loving heart of her people would be essentially a Free Constitution.

Among the blessings which will result from this way provided we shall have the ride.

dom to use it)—among these blessings, I say, will be the restored love of country. That love was once the passion of the American heart. But demagogues have succeeded in making the passion give place to the worship of the Constitution; and should our country perish in its present perils, it will be owing to this unhappy substitution. President Lincoln is a lovery! Me! The people of Kansas return them to slevery!

dent was educated to worship the Constitution. This course of stories as to the treatment they would receive education hampers him at every step. With all his from "Lane's men." We had a few contrabands, heart would he save the country, but his reverence for however, who soon gave them better information, and the Constitution will not let him. He is capable of the slaves flocked into our camp. Many of them were

would be these purposes by such an appeal to that and crush treason, it will require two armies, and the reverence as a Crittenden or Holt would make in the slavery preserving army will have to be very careful how it strikes, as this institution of slavery has a very bare mention of constitutional objections.

Miserable substitute for the love of country is this delicate organization. I consider its end as certain, orshipping of a paper!-quite as miserable as is the whatever policy is pursued, because slavery cannot

other good effect than to bring back the popular heart sible, and to bring the contest to an end as soon as from this debasing, shrivelling worship to the expanding and ennobling love of country, it will be worth all it has cost.

Arm the negro against the negro. I am tempted to The one thing which, from the beginning of the give a homely illustration of my position. ("Go war, I have striven for, is to contribute, so far as my little influence can, to band together all men and women, white, red and black, in the invincible determination to save the country—and to save it, too, the head. (Laughter.) The champion was a big feleven though it be in the face of the certainty that the saving of it will involve the destruction of party, I shall never forget his name as long as I live. (Laughslavery, Constitution, and what not else. Nothing short of this determination can suffice to overcome of your hitting above the belt, but regular scratching our foe; for he is most emphatically a determined foe determined to wield every possible power and avail best, with him. One day he went in bathing, and rehimself of every possible advantage for success. ceived a severe bruise below his knee. I got him to Whilst our boasted high style of civilization forbids show me the exact locality of the bruise, (laughter,) our following the example, he calls the bloody Indian and the next Saturday I called him out to fight. (Conto his aid; and whilst we send back his fugitive tinued merriment.) I watched my opportunity, and slaves, he makes slaves his most effective helpers.

And so determined is he, that he will spare nothing like a calf, and cried "enough." I went to the head. which stands in the way of his success. Not even (Great laughter.) The rebellion has a sorer spot than "Joe Darragh's" bruise, and a good blow on it would

slaves. A prominent member of the Government in regard to the slaves, there would have been a howl told me that slaveholding pride would prevent this. in rebeldom before this time. The whole slave popu-

swells the interest of the battle : it is the blows them- We had in our Brigade five hundred slaves, and we object of the South was the establishing of slavery the movements of the enemy, than from all other was passed months ago. The joy of her final success sources besides. They are faithful and grateful. They against our invading armies would be scarcely at all would die a thousand deaths rather than betray one against our invading armies would be scarcely at an ediminished by the attendant loss of all her slaves.

I repeat what I have often said—THE PARTY WHICH upon their limbs the shackles—they must be lied GETS THE BLACKS TO FIGHT FOR IT, GETS THE VIC- about. Gen. Halleck's experience may be different but I have been taught to denounce wrong-to vindi-

the need of the help of all the despised classes—the Negroes, the Indians, and even the Abolitionists. Do to Springfield—I was in the rear of the column—when not peril your country for the sake of gratifying old I was informed by one of my men that a woman in prejudices. Respectfully, your friend, great distress wanted to see me. I told him to bring her to me, and he did. She was a big, brawny woman-fat, and over forty,-and was crying. I asked SPEECH OF GENEDAL LANE, OF KANSAS, ber what the matter was. She said, "My two sons have joined the Confederate army, and now your sol-To mple was well filled, and among the audience were many of our prominent citizens.

The same processory calculates the sam many of our prominent citizens.

The speaker came upon the platform soon after want with my sons, if you'll only return the niggers."

The Secessionists have four thousand Indians in F. W. Bird, Esq., of Walpole, called the meeting to their ranks. Last week they took three of my men, has been sworn over not less than three times already.

further preliminary remark, introduced General Lane, who was again greeted with cheers.

Brigade. They are charged with being "Jay-hawk-ers." I say many of them are men of principle— General Lane said he felt embarrassed in addressing godly men. Sturgis, after being with the Brigade a short time, called it a damned (I don't know as I ought there was nothing to prevent his success but his unconquerable modesty. But he desired to return to the people of Boston the thanks of the people of Kansas for past generosity, which made that State free. (Applause.) The children of Kansas are taught gratitude to those who stood by them in 1855 and 1856.

before we had our Constitution. The principle of Democracy was our Government; and the Constitution but served to point out some of the modes by which the principle should govern. The Constitution did not create the union of the American people. Traditions, common memories and common hopes, fellowship in faith and fellowship in suffering did.

"Murder!" and the efforts of the late Administration to destroy the government, followed by the attack on Sumter, and the assassination of your gallant sons in the streets of Baltimore, must destroy all respect to it.

We want a speedy crushing out of rebellion, (applause,) and a permanent peace. He is a coward who wants a peace patched up with the knowledge that the formal people. They made to find the streets of the late Administration to destroy the government, followed by the attack on Sumter, and the efforts of the late Administration to destroy the government, followed by the attack on Sumter, and the servedly the most popular. The establishment is large, convenient, and as well adapted to its clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children's water is of the purest, sweetest kind. All the baths hours of slaves, men, women and children's clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children's water is of the purest, sweetest kind. All the baths hours of slaves, men, women and children's clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children's water is of the purest, sweetest kind. All the baths hours of the purest, sweetest kind and it is deservedly the most popular. The catablishment is large, convenient, and as well adapted to its clothing. In answer to that I can only say that I am not responsible if niggers are men. (Laughter.) A number of slaves, men, women and children's clothing. In answ they furnished themselves with a portion of the clothing of their former owners. They made a fair division, I have no doubt. I was not responsible.

(Laughter.) All I did was to see that the white babies did not deprive the black babies of their clothing. Francis, I think this the very place of all places to

> at the foundation. I would oppose bowie-knife to My recent contact with the great heart of the peo bowie-knife, Indian to Indian, nigger to nigger, and freedom to slavery. (Cheers.) If you do not like that plan, furnish a substitute, equally powerful, for is becoming imperative, and will be obeyed. closing the war. Our present policy will cause the war to drag along for years. You cannot with the same army crush out treason and preserve slavery. There must be two armies to do that, and it will cost more to preserve slavery than to crush out treason. Write "Freedom," then, on all your banners, and the spirit of the old Crusaders will animate your armies, opdyke (Republican) being the successful candidate firmness and steadiness will be imparted to your pur- A great deliverance! Now let Boston, on Monday pose, victory will be gained, and a permanent peace

The meeting broke up with cheers for "Gen. Lane and the Kansas Brigade, and Gen. Fremont."

The Boston Courier notices this straight-forward and telling speech in the following characteristic strain of ribaldry :

GENERAL JIM LANE. A helter-skelter abolition harangue fitly closed the anti-slavery exercises of last week. The address of General Lane speaks for itself. It is equally unprincipled, inconsequential and vulgar; the speech of a marauder, not a statesman—and what a man this is, to take his seat in the once honorable Senate of the United States! The tone of his sentiment may be seen in the graceful anecdote he gives of himself and "Joe Darragh." The small craft, in ascertaining the place of his rival's bruise, and his generous use of this stolen advantage, shows what a "Joe Darragh." The small craft, in ascertaining the place of his rival's bruise, and his generous use of this stolen advantage, shows what a "Joe Darragh." The will of the late Francis Jackson, of this been presented for probate. It is a lengthy ment, and was signed on the 28th of Januar Heliev Will.

He gives \$100 each to Stephen S. Foster, Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pill Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child, Oliver Joe Charles and a gentleman. The audience appears to have been not very full, but sympathetic. A timely snow-storm kept back some of the strong-minded women and weak-minded men, especially from the neighboring towns; still, they were represented, GENERAL JIM LANE. A helter-skelter abolition ha the neighboring towns; still, they were represented, and their representatives evidently enjoyed the intel-lectual and patriotic entertainment provided.

As the report we publish of Gen. Lane's speech is nainly the Courier's own, (and therefore none too favorable.) our readers can easily decide as to the justice of such a criticism. (?) The rattlesnake venom of the Courier is ejected because Gen. Lane goes for liberty, and not for slavery. But here is a tribute of a very different character, and from the right quarter:

rery different character, and from the right quarter:

THE WESTERN LIBERATOR.

In the list of vindictive and partisan presses, we know none equal to the St. Louis Republican. For weeks and months it has vented its spleen upon Gen. Lane and his heroic little Spartan command. The lale spives to this Board \$2000, to be used in aid of fugitive slaves, and in this connection speaks as follows:

"Disregarding the self-evident Declaration of 1776, or "Disregarding the self-evident Declaration of 1776, that 'all men are born free and equal,' Massachusetts has since, in the face of those solemn declarations, deliberately entered into a conspiracy with other States, to aid in enslaving millions of innocent persons. I have confidence and devotion of the people.

With less than twelve hundred men, General Lane marched eight hundred miles through an enemy's country. And the shout of joy ever greeted his coming. At Springfield, where a grand junction of the Federal forces took place, under Gen. Fremont, to meet the combined hosts of the rebels, no name aroused such unbounded enthusiasm among the different divisions of our Grand Western Army. The rank and file were wild in expressing their adulation, and the air was vocal with cheers for "Jim Lane, The Lieraror."

Everywhere, the loyal citizens rallied around his

the air was vocal with cheers for "Jim Lane, The Liberator."

Everywhere, the loyal citizens rallied around his standard, and hailed his approach as the coming of a mailed warrior, battling for Liberty, and their deliverance from an unholy usurpation. He relieved the poor, sustained and strengthened whole communities, and scattered the necessaries and comforts of life among those who had been robbed of their little all. His name was clothed with no terror, save to those whose guilty hands sought their country's ruin.

And now that the record of a brief campaign stands before the country, we challenge any command to show equality of service on behalf of the Union with that of the Kansas brigade. Poorly equipped and armed, they have marched hundreds of miles through the enemy's country, fronted any danger that threatened, known no reverse in their numberless experienced.

And now that the record of a brief campaign stands before the country, we challenge any command to show equality of service on behalf of the Union with that of the Kansas brigade. Poorly equipped and armied, they have marched hundreds of miles through the enemy's country, fronted any danger that threatened, known no reverse in their numberless engagements, and inaugurated a principle on which alone this war can be carried to a successful issue.

In the organization and movements of this Kansas brigade, Gen. Lane has been the moving spirit and the rallying-ery. The devotion of his men is without parallel, and it but represents a feeling universal in our new Department. And when the defamers of Gen. Lane and his brigade pour out their vile shaders, let the sentiment of the people of the United States (which is almost united in support of the General) be held up to their view—a sentiment which will yet make itself felt throughout the nation, and demand that those alone must wear the laured to whom Justice and Merit point.—Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative.

LABORS IN VERMONT.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON,—It was my int ion, when I finished my recent lecturing tour in Vermont, to have given the friends of our cause a brief sketch of its apparent interests and successes at an earlier day.

No lecturing tour which I have ever made in New England has been attended by so many earnest auditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were large, and, in some cases, very large. In every independent of the properties of the convention, to here are some calling themselves Justices of the Peace.

CONGRESS—IMPORTANT. In the Senate, of colored persons confined in prison in Washington by persons calling themselves Justices of the Peace.

Hale advocated the resolution, saying the thought the community of Washington the most corrupt in the community

ditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were ditors. With but two exceptions, my meetings were large, and, in some cases, very large. In every inday, Mr. Hogan, of Barne, offered the following: stance but one—as far as I could learn—the clergymen gave notice of my meetings when requested, and in many instances attended the meetings, and, in two, invited me to speak for the slave in their pulpits, during one of the regular services of their Sunday meetings. These two instances were in Peacham and Bradford. To my most radical utterances, in relation to the antagonism of slaver to Christian civilization, and the progress and happiness of the race, there was, in every case, an earnest and quick response. To the demand that slavery, the cause of the war, should be wiped out from the land, there was a response equally earnest and quick.

My levels at learne, offered the following:—Whereas, slavery is the origin and foundation of our national troubles, and the cause of the expediency of government; and, whereas, slavery is incompatible with the word of God, detrimental to the interest of a free people, as well as wrong to slaves themselves,—therefore, expediency of making the proposed new State a free state, and a provision be inserted for the gradual emancipation of all slaves within the proposed boundaries of the same for their approval or rejection.

Referred to the Committee on Fundamental and General Provisions. stance but one-as far as I could learn-the clergy-

a response equally earnest and quick.

My labors were made exceedingly pleasant by the kindness and sympathy and earnest coperation of the friends of our glorious cause. I am especially indebted, for the success of my labors, and for the peace and comfort of my flesh and spirit, to the hospitality and sympathy of the Hutchinsons, the Spears—to our ever-zealous and faithful friend Claffin—to our friend Coburn—to Rev. Mr. Stone of Northfield—to Rev. Mr. Bliss of Barre—to the friends at Danville Green—to our friend Johnson and the Congregational clergy-man of Peacham—to Whipple, Burrell and others, in St. Johnsbury—to Rev. Mr. Palmer of Waterford—to friends in Concord—to the friends at McIndoes Falls—to the friends at Rye Gate—to our well-known and long-tried friend, Rev. Mr. Johnston of Topsham Mr. Bliss of Barre-to the friends at Danville Green-—to the Seavers and other friends at Washington—to Mr. Winship and Rev. D. McKeene of Bradford—to the Comings in Cornish, N. II.—to the Coopers in Croydon—to our ever-faithful friends in Brattleboro', Vt.—and to our ever-faithful and loving friend Webb of Keene, N. H. All these dear friends, and many others, whose names have escaped me, are embalmed in my affectionate and grateful remembrance. To a Mr. Hanks of Bethel I am under especial chligations. -to the Seavers and other friends at Washington-to Mr. Hanks of Bethel, I am under especial obligations

heal diseased bodies, and to revive desponding spirits (Continued laughter.)

The only way we can bring this contest to a successful issue is by striking directly and with all our power friends who need medical aid to seek it here.

Ferdinand Wood, who represents the rascali ty, rowdyism and rebellion of New York, has failed to secure his reëlection as Mayor of that city-Mr. next, make Mayor J. M. Wightman "walk the plank as summarily, and redeem her tarnished character!

The lecture of Frederick Douglass, on "Pic tures and Progress," before the Fraternity Association, at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening, was creditably written and warmly applauded.

The Letter of Gerrit Smith to Edwin Croswell, in another column, we copy from a printed circu

WILL OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

Yours, in the contest and in the VICTORY,

WILL OF THE LATE FRANCIS JACKSON.

The Will of the late Francis Jackson, of this city, has been presented for probate. It is a lengthy document, and was signed on the 28th of January last. His brother, Edmund Jackson, is made executor of the Will.

He gives \$100 each to Stephen S. Foster, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Parker Pillsbury, Lucy Stone, Lydia Maria Child, Oliver Johnson, Charles Lenox Remond, Charles K. Whipple and Robert F. Wallcut, "as a token of esteem for their fidelity to moral principle, and their devotion to the cause of human freedom."

For a like reason he gives to Wm. Lloyd Garrison the sum of \$4000, to be used in support of himself and wife, and the education of Francis J. Garrison at Harvard College, after he shall have left the public schools of Boston.

He appoints Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, Edmund Jackson, William I. Bowditch, Samuel May, Jr., and Chas. K. Whipple, a Board of Trustees to receive funds designated in the Will to be used to create a public sentiment in favor of putting an end to negro slavery—leaving a bequest of \$10,000 in their hands for this purpose.

He constitutes Mr. Phillips as President, Mr. E.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY. The time for the Annual Subscription Anniver-

SARY again draws nigh, and we look forward to it with pleasure, as the means of meeting familiar, friendly faces, and listening to earnest words of counsel and ncouragement. Some say that other agencies are ow in such active operation, that "the old Abolitionists," as they are called, can well afford to rest upon their oars, while others carry forward their work to its ompletion. We cannot view the subject in this light. Our mission is the same now that it was thirty years ago. Through many and strange changes, we have slowly but steadily advanced toward its fulfilment; but there are many indications that our work is not vet in a state to be safely left to other hands. We have been, and we must still be, a fire to warm the atmosphere of public opinion. More than a quarter of a century ago, the fire was kipdled with generous zeal, and year after year it has been fed with untiring inlustry and patience. Not all the cold water that politicians, merchants, and ecclesiastical bodies could throw upon it has sufficed to extinguish the flame, or even to prevent it from spreading. The moral therometer can never again fall to the old freezing point. In view of this, we thank God, and take courage. But who that observes passing events, and reflects upon their indications, can arrive at the conclusion that the fire is no longer needed ?

It is true that blood and treasure are lavishly expended to put down a most wicked and sanguinary rebellion, the proclaimed purpose of which is to extend and perpetuate SLAVERY. But the government of the United States manifests, in every possible way, a vigilant carefulness to protect the claims of Slavery, and politicians are continually announcing that the war has nothing to do with the cause of the war. There are now very few slaveholders who condescend to profess allegiance to the government; yet, small as is the remnant of that powerful and unprincipled oli-garchy, they still appear to govern the counsels of the ation. The honest expression of THE PEOPLE'S wishes is required to be suppressed, lest the utterance should prove offensive to this arrogant minority, so ong accustomed to rule the majority. The people are full of generous enthusiasm for their country. If the polar star of a great idea were presented to them, they would follow it with eager courage through suffering and death. But it seems to be the aim of politicians to create a fog so dense that neither star nor sunlight hall glimmer through it to guide the millions, who

are longing to be led in the right direction. Is this a time to let the sacred fire smoulder on the altar of freedom? On the contrary, there has never been a time when it was more necessary to watch it with vigilance, and feed it with untiring activity.

We, Abolitionists, still have unwavering faith that a straight line is always the shortest, in morals as well as in mathematics." Politicians are always in need of being convinced of this obvious truth; and they are peculiarly in need of it now. Let us, then, tinue to work for the good old cause in every way that is consistent with our own conscientious convic tions. Let us meet together, that our hearts may be cheered and our hands strengthened for whatsoever work the God of the oppressed may call upon us to do.

All those who have faith in the principles of freeom, all who believe that the effect of righteousness would be peace and security for our unhappy country, are cordially and earnestly invited to meet us at the usual time and place in Boston, in January next.

Particulars hereafter.] Contributions, and expressions of sympathy, from friends at home or abroad, in person or by letter, will e most thankfully received; for we have great need

of both at this most momentous and trying crisis. Mary Willey, L. Maria Child. Ann Rebecca Bramhall, Mary May, Sarah P. Remond, Louisa Loring, Henrietta Sargent. Mary E. Stearns, Sarah Russell May, Sarah J. Nowell, Helen Eliza Garrison, Elizabeth Von Arnim, Anna Shaw Greene, Anne Langdon Alger, Sarah Blake Shaw, Eliza Apthorp, Caroline C. Thayer, Sarah Cowing, Sarah H. Southwick, Abby Kelley Foster, Ludia D. Parker. Mary Elizabeth Sargent, Sarah C. Atkinson, Augusta G. King, Mattie Griffith, Abby Francis, Mary Jackson, Mary Jane Parkman, Evelina A. Smith, Georgina Otis, Caroline M. Severance, Abby H. Stephenson, Elizabeth Gay, Abby F. Manley, Katherine Earle Farnum.

> MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY. DONATIONS.

Contribution of Middlesex Co. A. S. Society, Collections by C. L. Remond, Danvers Port, Joshua Perry, (pledge,) May, 1860, \$5.00 0.65 5.00 100.00 EDMUND JACKSON, Treasers.

A. T. FOSS, an Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will speak in Carmel, Maine,

Sunday, Dec. 8.
Monday, 9.
Tuesday, 10.
Thursday, 12. Etna, Hampden Corner," Bucksport, Friday, " 13. Sunday, " 15. Elisworth. " AARON M. POWELL, an Agent of the Ameri-

can Anti-Slavery Society, will speak at
. Canaan, N. Y., Sunday, Dec. 8.

Canaan, N. Y.,
Roundout, (Ulster Co., N. Y.,) Tuesday, "10.
Ellenville, "Thursday," 12. Ellenville, " " Thursday Greenfield, " " Friday, Ellenville, " Sunday, Greenfield, " Friday, " 13.
Ellenville, " Sunday, " 15.
Homowack, " Monday, " 16. MEETING AT ESSEX .- On Sunday next, Dec. 8, HARLES L. REMOND and PARKER PILLSBURY will hold THREE meetings, at the usual hours, in the Century Chapel, at Essex. Subject: The War—Its Cause and Cure.

Mr. Pillsbury will also lecture this [Friday] evening, at o'clock, in Manchester. WM. LLOYD GARRISON will address the citizens of MILFORD, (Mass.) in the Town Hall, on Slavery and

the War, on Friday evening, Dec. 13th. MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 695 Washington street, 2d door North of Warren. Par-ticular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. References .- Luther Clark, M. D.;; David Thayer, M. D. Office hours from 2 to 4. P. M.

DIED-In Cambridgeport, Nov. 28, Mrs. NANCY BUCK,

TERMS REDUCED.

A T the Round Hill Water-Cure in Northampton, Mass.,
A to \$7 and \$10 per week. Open Summer and Winter.
Dn. Halsten's success in the treatment of Woman's
diseases is well known. The euro is speedy and reliable.
Those brought on beds, even, are soon enabled to walk.
Over four hundred cases of spinal diseases, paralysis and
loss of the use of limbs have been restored; and numerous cures have been made of various stubborn difficulties
which had lingored without help for years. For the success in treating more ordinary complaints, and the great
favor given the Turkish Chemical and other Baths, see circular sent gratis.

Needing a little change, and desirous to confer as well
as to receive benefit, Dr. H. will make a few professional
visits, travelling expenses being paid, without charge.

Northampton, Oct. 30.

Diseases of Women and Children. WM. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D., and

MRS. MARGARET B. BROWN, Accoucheuse, HAVE opened an office at 274 Washington Street,
Boston, and will devote special attention to the
treatment of the above diseases.
Office Hours, from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.
Boston, Cet. 4, 1861.
3m

Poetry.

HALLOWED GROUND.

What's hallowed ground ?-Has earth a eled Its Maker meant should not be trod By man, the image of his God, Unscourged by Superstition's rod
To bow the knee?

That's hallowed ground-where, mourned and missed But where's their memory's mansion? Is't You church-vard's bowers No; in ourselves their souls exist

What hallows ground where heroes sleep? Tis not the sculptured piles you heap! In dews that heavens far distant weep, Their turf may bloom; Or genii twine beneath the deep Their coral tomb.

A part of ours.

But strew his ashes to the wind Whose sword or voice has served mankind-And is he dead, whose glorious mind Lifts thine on high? To live in hearts we leave behind

Is't death to fall for Freedom's right? He's dead alone that lacks her light And murder sullies in Heaven's sight The sword he draws :-What am alone ennoble fight?

Give that ! and welcome War to brace Her drums ! and rend heaven's reeking space ! The colors painted face to face, The charging cheer, Though Death's pale horse led on the chase, Shall still be dear !

And place our trophies where men kneel To Heaven !- but Heaven rebukes my zeal ! The cause of truth and human weal, Transfer it from the sword's appeal

To peace and love ! Peace, love! the cherubim, that join Their spread wings o'er Devotion's shrine ;-Prayers sound in vain, and temples shine Where they are not ;-

The heart alone can make divine Religion's spot. To incentations dost thou trust. And pompous rites in domes august? ering stones and metal's rust

Belie the vaunt, That man can bless one pile of dust With chime or chant.

Fair stars! are not your beings pure? Can sin, can death your worlds obscure? Else why so swell the thoughts at your Ye must be Heaven's that make us sure

Of heavenly love ! And in your harmony sublime

I read the doom of distant time ; That man's regenerate soul from crime Shall yet be drawn, And reason on his mortal clime

What's hallowed ground? Tis what gives birth To sacred thoughts in souls of worth !-Peace ! independence ! truth ! go forth Earth's compassed round ; And your high priesthood shall make earth

"ASPIRE."

BY M. F. TUPPER. Higher, higher, ever higher,-Let the watchword be, " Aspire ?" Noble Christian youth ; Whatsoe'er be God's behest, Try to do that duty best, In the strength of Truth.

Let a just Ambition fire God and Man to serve : God, with gratitude most true And all the spirit's nerve !

God will give what all require, Raiment, home, and food; Bid thine aspirations swell

From the perils, deep and dire, Of Temptation's sensual mive, Dread, and hate, and turn away From the lure that leads astray,

And, while thus a self-denier, Bravely battling en Though alone,-no soul alive But saw the battle won !

Higher, then, and always higher,-Let Man's motto be, " ASPIRE !" Where'er he be,-Holy liver ! happy dier ! Earth's poor best, and Heaven's chair. Are reserved for thee !

PRESS ON!

BY N. P. WILLIS. We shall go forth together. There will come Alike the day of trial unto all, And the rade world will buffet us alike. Temptation hath a music for all ears ; And mad Ambition trumpeteth to all ; And the ungovernable thoughts within Will be in every bosom eloquent ;-But when the silence and the calm come or And the high seal of character is set, Of lifetime is a graduated scale, And deeper than the vanities of power, Or the vain pomp of glory, there is writ A standard measuring its worth for heaven And the proud man shall tread it, and the low, With his bowed head, shall bear him company. Decay will make no difference, and death, With his cold hand, shall make no difference ; And there will be no precedence of power, In waking at the coming trump of God; But in the tempter of the invisible mind, The godlike and undying intellect, There are distinctions that will live in heaven, When time is a forgotten circumstance

Createth its own destiny of power; And as the trial is intenser here, His being hath a nobler strength in heaven What is its earthly victory? Press on ! For it hath tempted angels. Yet press on For it shall make you mighty among men; And from the cyrie of your eagle thought Ye shall look down on monarchs. O press on ! For the high ones and powerful shall come Will know the purer language of your brow, And read it like a talisman of love ! Press on ! for it is godlike to unloose The spirit, and forget yourself in thought; Bending a pinion for the deeper sky, And, in the very fetters of your flesh Mating with the pure essences of heaven ! Press on ! "for in the grave there is no work And no device."-Press on ! while yet ye may

The soul of man

The Ziberator.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE,

That this infernal rebellion is an inevitable and direct result of American slavery. Let no side issues for a moment divert us. By every power within human means that can be brought to bear upon the people at home, the brave soldiers abroad in the fight, and the government, through press and pulpit, blazon broad and high the verdict of a thirty years' history, that this is A SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION, cruel and relentless!

this is A SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION, cruel and relentless!

Of its barbarous character, there is crowded into less than a twelvemonth an amount and strength of evidence never before paralleled. The long catalogue of its crimes is but too familiar to us all. There is nothing in the country or in its relations, except slavery, which could have engendered this mighty strife. Diversity of interests in the sections, whether of business or religion, in the short space of eighty years, however sharp their competitions, furnishes no explation of the mighty events which now pass before us.

All men may harmlessly shape and force the powers of external nature to do their bidding. The waves of the sea and the storm the centarget and the red

years' exercise of such power over the weak and society. Freeman and slave alike are but the tools of States." its cruel ambition. To rule or ruin is its governing motive. Peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. It judging how extensive is the present complicity of is confined to no age or country. It is visible everywhere and under all conditions, varying only in de- of its spontaneous self-purification. In 1859, after a gree; and it should be among the highest duties of a long series of more private labors to the same end

It is the unfortunate condition of this country, thus ent Connection of the Methodist Episcopal Church early in its history, to be cursed by a form of tyranny with Slavery, and Our Duty in regard to it." By this which has its root in slavery. This dreadful conflict he hoped to arouse the Northern church, in the Geneis the result of its insolent machinations throughout ral Conference of 1860, to the utter exclusion of slavethe vast departments of our government. Under a holders, slave-traders and slave-breeders from it professed respect for law and order in the desecrated membership. They shamefully evaded the perform name of "democracy," by secret and damnable plot- ance of this duty; and this most competent and trusttings, it had at length all but crushed out the political worthy witness now testifies that among Northern life of the nation. With the army and navy crippled Methodists there are, still, more than ten thousan and dispersed by a traitorous administration, the fell slaveholders, owning more than seventy thousand doctrine of secession had well-nigh culminated in the slaves, and that there seems to be no hope of efficient subjugation or dismemberment of the Union; and for action to remove them. It was time, indeed, that he the first time in our history on a scale never before should remove himself from membership with them surpassed in wickedness, the government was to have been prostrated by a slaveholders' conspiracy to be the light of the world." The government of this forever held in subjection to its sway.

The people of the North, with their thoughts enspiracy were soon known. Resistance and conflict instead of making such strenuous efforts as men and moment to be dragged into a war with one or more of the powerful nations on the opposite side of the sea.

And yet we have among us, even while the contest thickens, and at a time when the best endeavors of the government are put forth to save us, apologists for American slavery, who cannot or will not see any necessary connection between it and this foul rebellion. Instead of loyally seconding the efforts of the patriotic, these men traitorously labor for a "peace' which, if attained, would be but the inauguration of new and interminable ills.

Let us listen to no peace that is not preceded by the its foundations laid in the highest and broadest liberty liberality to give it expression to the public. J. P. B. war, if need be, to the remotest extreme of "Africa." At every step of its resistance, let the rebellion feel on its head and front let the blows fall thick and fast. Overbearing in her insolence and pride, let South Carolina, the seat of secession and foremost among her recreant sisters, let this war which she precipitated upon us press the chalice to her lips. If she still resist, lay her boasted capital in the dust, and make its site as wide of discovery to the antiquary in future years as that of Babylon or Ninevah. And, finally, let slavery and secession rest forever in a common grave.

"REASONS FOR WITHDRAWING FROM THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH."

Such is the title of a letter (published in pamphlet form) from Rev. Hiram Mattison to Rev. James Erwin, Presiding Elder of the Rome District, Black River Conference.

For twenty-five years past, Mr. Mattison, has been.

For twenty-five years past, Mr. Mattison has been an able and faithful minister, connected with the Black River Conference in the State of New York. Perhaps for the whole of that time, but certainly for the whole of that time, but certainly for the lamentable mistakes of Gerrit Smith, Lewis Tap-

under this head he gives six specifications, which may profitably be pondered by members of the church in question. His first and chief reason for withdrawing, however, is founded an element of the Petersburg Express says: ing, however, is founded on slavery, and must be deeply interesting to every opposer of that wickedness.

I. I am not willing to take my passport for eternity from a Church in which there are THOUSANDS OF SLAVE-BOLDERS in good and regular standing; and that, too, without rebuke either in the discipline of the Church, or by the administration.

Even according to the lowest estimates of official apologists for Methodist slaveholding, (Drs. Stephens and Baird, for instance.) there are not less than five finousand slaves; but to my positive knowledge, these figures do not represent half the slaveholders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, over high the slaves held by them. Nor is this all; Methodists in our "Northern Church," as some style it, in Maryland and Virginia, and Kentucky and Missouri, buy and sell slaves with impunity; and even members of Conferences are publicly knowledge to we have to own from two to forty slaves, without a shadow of rebuke or censure.

These facts are known to our Bishops, and Presiding Elders, and Conferences, and have been for years; and yet, instead of seeking to reform or exclude the offinders, the chief effort of the government and

ers of external nature to do their bidding. The waves of the sea and the storm, the cataract and the red lightning, may be disrobed of their terrors at the touch of genius. Unconquerable will and the farthest stretch of human power over nature are productive of incalculable benefit to all; but no man—well or ill-born—can be vested with irresponsible power over his fellow-men without degenerating into a tyrant. This result is as inevitable as necessity itself. A few

It is in no spirit of faintheartedness, nor indispos friendless cannot fail to exhibit the evidence of this tion to further labor, that Mr. Mattison takes the im truth. Twenty or thirty years' practice will surely con-firm it, and bring to view, in all their disgusting de-has so long been one of the most active ministers. He formity, the wide extremes of the tyrant and the gives this final testimony of withdrawal, because his Tyranny, ambitious and unjust, low and selfish former testimony of long and earnest labor for the in its aims, and bending all things to its relentless sway, it preys alike upon the individual and society. ful; because, as he says—"there seems to be no hope To compass its ends, it inflicts its insidious poison into that the Methodist Episcopal Church will purge her both social and political life till institutions of freedom self from this iniquity for years to come, if ever; or dissolve before it, or in the whirlwind of passion it until the opportunity of so honoring Christ has passed sweeps away the choicest fabrics of government and away, by the legal abolition of slavery in these

No one is better qualified than Mr. Mattison for that church with slavery, and how little hope remains good government, by force, if need be, to arrest it in he published an admirable pamphlet of 136 pages, entitled-" The Impending Crisis of 1860; or the pres

The church claims to be "the salt of the earth and country, as of other countries, pretends to no high standard of religious principle, to nothing better than grossed by matters that tell for peace, had been un- worldly expediency in managing its affairs. But the mindful of the extent or designs of those who had managers of the Methodist Episcopal Church are do held the reins for so many years. But when Sumter ing just what Abraham Lincoln and his "Republican" fell, the people awoke from sleep as by the "crack of administration are doing, letting themselves drift with The bearings and magnitude of the con- the current of events, as far as slavery is concerned, were inevitable. Thirty-three millions of people, with | Christians should do, to turn that current in the right opportunities unsurpassed in the tide of time, were direction. Whether or not the abolition of slavery not only forced into this suicidal war, but by compli-shall come as an incidental and collateral result of the cation of their foreign relations rendered liable at any war, history must stigmatize both these bodies as having basely shrunk from the duty of open and active hostility to the worst foe of civil and religious liberty .- c. K. W.

A VOICE FROM THE WEST.

DEAR SIR-I have recently received a letter, dated Nov. 13th, from a respected minister of the Gospel in Illinois, whose name I withhold, as the publication of it might cause him some trouble there: but I have his permission to give you the following extract for insertion in your paper. It may not, in all respects, utter destruction of rebellion; no peace that has not echo your own sentiments; but I trust to your usual

EXTRACT. to the new and discouraging obstacle to peace, resulting from the 'growing conviction that there can be no the dread power of the insulted and mighty North.

On its head and front let the blows fall thick and that the war must be declared to be for emancipation,

Perhaps for the whole of that time, but certainly for many years past, he has been diligent and zealous in protesting against the toleration of slaveholding in the Methodist Episcopal Church; and he was one of the most faithful of that noble minority who, at the quadrennial General Conference held last year in New York, were defeated in their attempt to purge the Northern church from the guilt of slaveholding. Though many bitter reproaches were poured upon him by those Methodists who wished still to temporize with slavery, his patience and moderation have been shown, both by his waiting thus long before withdraw-al—in the hope that faithful labor might still reform the Northern Methodist Church—and by the calmness Northern Methodist Church—and by the calmness of the language in which he now sets forth that Church's guilt.

The second of the two reasons which Mr. Mattison gives for his withdrawal is the following:—

II. There are several things in the GOVERNMENT and ECONOMY of the M. E. Church which I regard as unscriptural, and tending to ecclesiastical despotism.

Vinder this head he gives in the GOVERNMENT and surprise the first property of the M. E. Church which I regard as unscriptural, and tending to ecclesiastical despotism.

The spring of hope must now, with the Yankees, die upon the winter winds. Already has the black flag been hoisted upon the soil of South Carolina, and war to the knife, the knife to the hilt, and thence to the to the knife, the knife to the hilt, and thence to the shoulder, been proclaimed by her noble sons as the only booty which Yankee hireling invaders shall receive at their hands. This is right. It is the only way to conquer a peace with a people so lost and degraded as those which compose the grand army of the rump government. We look anxiously for news from the sunny South; hopefully, prayerfully, with no misgivings. Now that the rallying cry is "no quarter to the invaders of our soil," may we not believe that the course inaugurated by South Carolina will be followed up by our whole army, and thus end this war? "So mote it be."

Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Never in history did Rebellion assur Call their numbers 400,000 or 200,000—what you will—they far surpass any armed forces ever before martialed in rebellion; they are among the larges

ever martialed in war.

And all this is in the name of slavery, and for the sake of slavery, and at the bidding of slavery. The profligate favorite of the Euglish monarch—the famous Duke of Buckingham—was not more expenses.

"Who rules the kingdom? The King. Who rules the King; The Duke. Who rules the Duke? The Devil."

The prevailing part here attributed to the roy favorite belongs now to slavery, which, in the rebestates, is a more than royal favorite.

The latter question I need not answer. But all

Who rules the rebel States? The President. Who rules the President? Slavery. Who rules slavery?

must see—and nobody can deny—that slavery is the ruling idea of this Rebellion. It is slavery which martials these hosts and breathes into their embatthed ranks its own barbarous fire. It is slavery which stamps its character alike upon officers and men. It is slavery which inspires all, from the general to the trumpeter. It is slavery which speaks in the word of command, and which sounds in the morning drum-beat. It is slavery which digs trenches and builds hostile forts. It is slavery which tches its white tents and stations its sentries over against the National Capital. It is slavery which sharpens the bayonet and casts the bullet; which points the cannon and scatters the shell, blazing, bursting with death. Wherever this Rebellion shows itself—whatever form it takes—whatever thing it does—whatever it meditates—it is moved slavery; nay, it is slavery itself, incarnate, living, acting, raging, robbing, murdering, according to the essential law of its being.

But this is not all. The Rebellion is not only uled by slavery, but owing to the peculiar condition of the Slave State.

to their boast, actually reinforced by this institution. As the fields of the South are cultivated, and labor agenerally is performed by slaves, the white freem are at liberty to play the part of rebels. The slav toil at home, while the masters work at Rebellio the masters work at Rebellion and thus by a singular fatality is this doomed race actually engaged, without taking up arms, in feeding, supporting, succoring, invigorating those who are now battling for their enslavement. Full well know that this is an element of strength only through the indulgence of our own Government; but I speak now of things as they are; and that I may not seem to go too far, I ask your attention to the testimony

THE SLAVES AS A MILITARY ELEMENT IN THE SOUTH. The total white population of the eleven States now comprising the Confederacy is 6,000,000, and, therefore, to fill up the ranks of the proposed (600 000) about ten per cent. of the entire white army, (600,000) about ten per cent. of the entire ulation will be required. In any other country n our own, such a draft could not be met; but the athern States can furnish that number of men, and that section, especially those from the rural districts, leaves some branch of industry to suffer during his absence. The institution of slavery in the South alone enables her to place in the field a force much larger in proportion to her white population than the North, or indeed any country which is dependent entirely on free labor. The institution is a tower of strength to the South, particularly at the present crisis, and our enemies will be likely to find that the "moral cancer," about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective weapons employed against Indians—cruising upon the sea in pirate ships to despoil our commerce, and, at one swoop, confiscating our property to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars, while all this time their four millions of slaves undisturbed at home are freely contributing by their

about which their orators are so fond of prating, is really one of the most effective weapons employed against the Union by the South. Whatever number of men may be needed for this war, we are confident our people stand ready to furnish. We are all enlisted for the war, and there must be no holding back until the independence of the South is fully acknowledged.—

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser. As the rebels have already confessed the Conspira-

cy which led to the Rebellion, so in this article do they openly confess the mainspring of their strength. With triumphant vaunt, they declare slavery to be

of war? Why these swelling taxes? Why these unprecedented loans? Why this derangement of business? Why among us the suspension of the habbas corpus, and the prostration of all safe-guards of Freedom? Why this constant solicitude visible in the same of the sa all your faces? The answer is clear. Slavery is the author—the agent—the cause. The anxious hours that you pass are darkened by slavery. The habeas corpus and all those safe-guards of Freedom which you deplore have been prostrated by slavery. The business which you have lost has been filched by slavery. The millions of money now amassed by slavery. The millions of money now amassed by The answer is clear. Slavery is by slavery. The millions of money now amassed by patriotic offerings are all snatched by slavery. The parious onerings are all snatched by slavery. The taxes now wrung out of your diminished means are all consumed by slavery. And all these gathering means of war—this drum-beat in your peaceful streets—and these mustering armies are on account of slavery, and nothing else. Do the poor feel constrained to forego their customary tea or coffee or sugar, now burthened by increased taxation? Let them pledge themselves anew against the criminal giant tax-gatherer. Does any community mourn gallant men, who, going forth joyous and proud be-neath their country's flag, have been brought home cold and stiff, with its folds wrapped about them for

But I hear a voice saying that all this proceeds—not from slavery—oh no! but from anti-slavery—that the Republicans who hate slavery—that the Abolitionists—are the authors of this terrible conflagration. Surely you may well suspect the sense or loyalty of him who puts forth this irrational and utterly wicked imputation. As well say that the early Christians were the authors of the Heathen enormities against which they bore their martyr testimony, and that the cross, the axe, the gridiron, and the boiling oil by which they suffered were a part of the Christian dispensation. But the early Christians were misrepresented and falsely charged with crime, even as you are. The tyrant Nero, after setting Rome on fire, and dancing at the conflagration, denounced the Christians as guilty of this wickedness. Here are the authentic words of the historian Tacitus:—

it showed itself—while nearly thirty years ago Jackson denounced it, and one of its leading spirits has recently boasted that it has been gathering head for this full time, thus—not only in its distant embryo, but in its well-attested development—antedating those Abolitionists whose prophetic patriotism is now made the apology for the crime. As well—where the prudent passenger has warned the ship's crew of the fatal lee shore—arraign him for the wreck which has engulfed all; as well cry out that the philosopher who foresees the storm is responsible for the desolation that ensues, or that the astronomer, who calculates the eclipse, is the author of the darkness which covers the earth.

And now before closing, the way is prepared for me to open to you briefly the present situation, and its duties. You have seen slavery even before the Federal Union, not only a disturbing influence, but an actual bar to Union except on condition of surrender to its immoral behests. You have seen slavery at all times militant whenever any proposition was brought forward with regard to it, and more than once threatening a dissolution of the Union. You have seen slavery for many years the animating

was brought forward with regard to it, and more than once threatening a dissolution of the Union. You have seen slavery for many years the animating principle of a Conspiracy against the Union, while it matured its flagitious plans, and obtained the mastery of Cabinet and President. And when the Conspiracy had wickedly ripened, you have seen that it was only by concessions to slavery, that it was encountered, as by similar concessions it had from the beginning been encouraged. You now see Rebellion everywhere throughout the Slave States elevating its bloody crest, and threatening the existence of the National Government, and all in the name of slavery, while it proposes to establish a new government whose corner-stone shall be slavery.

Against this Rebellion we wage war. It is our determination, as it is our duty, to crush it; and this will be done. The region now contested by the rebels belongs to the United States by every tie of government and of right. Some of it has been bought by our money, while all of it—with its rivers, harbors and extensive coast—has become essential to our business in peace, and to our defence in war. Union is a geographical—economical—commercial—political—military—and if I may so say—even a fluvial necessity. Without Union, peace on this continent is impossible; but life without peace is impossible also.

Only by crushing this Rebellion can Union and

Only by crushing this Rebellion can Union and peace be restored. Let this be seen in its reality, and who can hesitate? If this were done instantly -without further contest-then besides all the con storation, two especial goods will be accomplished—one political and the other moral as well as political. First, the pretended right of secession, with the whole pestilent extravagance of State Sovereignty, which has supplied the machinery for this Rebellion and afforded a delusive cover for treason, will be and anorued a defusive cover for treason, will be trampled out—never again to disturb the majestic unity of the Republic. And, secondly, the unrighteous attempt to organize a new Confederacy solely for the sake of slavery, and with slavery as its cornerstone, will be overthrown. These two pretensions, one so shocking to our reason and the other so shockour moral nature, will disappear forever. And with their disappearance will commence a new epoch, the beginning of a grander period. But if by any accident the Rebellion should prevail, then just in proportion to its triumph, whether through co on our part, or through successful force on the other part, will the Union be impaired, and Peace be imssible. Therefore, in the name of the Union and or the sake of Peace are you summoned to the work.

But how shall the Rebellion be crushed? That is the question. Men, money, munitions of war, a well supplied commissariat, means of transportation; all these you have in abundance—in some particulars beyond the rebels. You have too the consciousness of a good cause, which in itself is an army. And s far-until within a few days-the has not been on our side. The explanation is easy.
The rebels are combatting at home on their own soil,
strengthened and maddened by slavery, which is to them an ally and a fanaticism. More thoroughly aroused than ourselves-more terribly in earn with every sinew strained to the utmost-they freely use all the resources that God and nature put into their hands; raising against us not only the whole

soon expire. It remains for us to encounter the Rebellion calmly they openly confess the mainspring of their strength. With triumphant vaunt, they declare slavery to be the especial source of their belligerent power.

But slavery may be seen not only in what it has done for the Rebellion of which it is the indisputable head—the fountain and life—but also in what it has inflicted upon us. There is not a community—not a family—not an individual, man, woman or child—who does not feel its heavy, bloody hand. Why these mustering armies? Why this drum-beat in your peaceful streets? Why these gathering means agement, and to foreign nations watching the test, it will be an earnest of something beyond a mere carnival of battle. There has been the cry "On to Richmond," and still another worse cry "On to England." Better than either is the cry, "On to Freedom. Let this be heard in the voices of your soldiers; ay—let it resound in the purposes of the Government, and victory must be ours. By this sign

white population, but enlisting the war-whoop of the

labor to sustain the war which without the

It is with no little happiness that I now announce that this cry is at last adopted by the Government. You will find it in the instructions from the Secretary of War, dated War Department, Oct. 14, 1861, and addressed to the general commanding the forces which have just effected a successful landing in South

"You will, however, in general avail yourself of the services of any persons, whether fugitives from labor or not, who may offer them to the National Govern-ment; you will employ such persons in such services as they may be fitted for; either as ordinary employes. cold and stiff, with its folds wrapped about them for a shroud? Let all who truly mourn the dead be aroused against slavery. Does a mother drop tears for a son in the flower of his days cut down upon the distant battle-field, which he moistens with his youthful, generous blood? Let her know that slavery dealt the deadly blow, which took at once his life and her peace. These words have not the positive form of a pro-

Etruria, and, according to Plutarch, proclaimed liberty to the slaves. As such I do not err when I call

ness. Here are the authentic words of the historian Tacitus:—

"So for the quieting of this rumor, Nero judicially charged with the crime, and punished with the most studied severities, that class, hated for their general wickedness, whom the vulgar call Christians. The originator of that name was one Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberias, suffered death by the sentence of the procurator, Pontius Pilate, The baneful superstition, thereby repressed for the time, again broke out, not only over Judea, the native soil of that mischief, but in the city also, where from every side all atrocious and abominable things collect and flourish." Annal. XV. 44.

The writer of these remarkable words was the wisest and most penetrating man of his generation, and he lived amidst the events which he describes. Perhaps in listening to him you may find an apology for those among us who heap upon contemporaries a similar obloquy. The Abolitionists need no defence from me. It is to their praise—destined to fill an immortal page—that from the beginning they saw the true character of slavery, and warned their country against its threatening domination. Through them the fires of Liberty have been kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the United States—as Hume is constrained to confess that these same fires were kept alive in the

The duty which I suggest, if not urgent now, as a military necessity, in just self-defence, will pre-self constantly on other grounds as our arn vance in the Slave States or land on their coa it does not stare us in the face at this momen before us for practical decision; and your ca avoid it. There will be slaves in your ca within your extended lines whose condition y determine. There will be slaves also cla to recognize. The decision of these two cases will settle the whole great question. Nor can the rebels complain. They challenge our armies to enter upon their territory in the free exercise of all the powers their territory in the free exercise of all the powers of war—according to which, as you well know, all private interests are subordinated to the public safety, which for the time becomes the supreme law above all other laws, and above the Constitution it self. If everywhere under the flag of the Union in its triumphant march—Freedom is substituted for Slavery, this outrageous Rebellion will not be the first instance in history where God has turned the wickedness of man into a blessing; nor will the example of Sampson stand alone when he gathers honey out of the carcass of the dead and ro honey out of the carcass of the dead and rotten hon.

Pardon me if I speak only in hints, and do not stop
to argue or explain. Not now, at the close of an address, devoted to the Rebellion in its Origin and Mainspring, can I enter upon this great question military duty in its details. There is another military duty in its details. There is another place where this discussion will be open to me. It is enough now if I indicate the simple principle which will be the natural guide of all who are really in earnest—of all whose desire to save their country is

strike where the blow will be most felt;

strike where the blow will be most felt; nor will you miss the precious opportunity. The enemy is before you; nay, he has come out in ostentatious challenge, and his name is slavery. You can vindicate the Union only by his prostration. Slavery is the very Goliah of the Rebellion, armed with a coat of mail, with a helmet of brass upon his head, greaves of brass when his legs, a target of brass het ween his sheadless.

upon his legs, a target of brass between his shoulders,

and with the staff of his spear like a weaver's beam. But a stone from a simple sling will make the giant

fall upon his face to the earth Thank God! our Government is strong; but thus far all signs denote that it is not strong enough to save the Union, and at the same time to save slaery. One or the other must suffer; and just in proportion as you reach forth to protect slavery, do you protect this accursed Rebellion; nay, you give you protect this accursed Rebellion; nay, you give to it that very aid and comfort which, under our Constitution, is treason itself. Perversely and piti-fully do you postpone that sure period of reconcilia-tion, not only between the two sections—not only tion, not only between the two sections—not only between the men of the North and the men of the South, but, more beautiful still, between the slave and his master, without which that true tranquillity, and his master, without which that the the ways which we all seek, cannot be permanently assured to our country. Believe it; only through such reconciliation, under the sanction of Freedom, can reconciliation, under the sanction of Freedom, can all occasion of contention hereafte only in this way can you cut off the head of this only in this way can you cut off the head of this great Rebellion, and at the same time extirpate that principle of Evil, which, if allowed to remain, must shoot forth in perpetual discord, if not in other rebellions; only in this way can you command that safe victory—without which this contest will be vain—which will have among its conquests Indem-nity for the Past and Security for the Future—the

noblest indemnity and the strongest security ever won—because founded in the redemption of a race. Full well I know the doubts, cavils and misrepresentations to which this argument for the integrity of our Government is exposed; but I turn with is right, and all great thoughts come from the heart. who hate slavery and who are true to Freedom will join instinctively in this effort, paying with person, time, talent, purse. They are the minute men of this War—always ready; and yet more ready just in proportion as the War is truly spired. They at least are sure. It only rema spired. They at least are sure. It only that others who do not share in this and slavery—that merchants who study their ledgers—that bankers who study their discounts—and that politicians who study success—should see that only by a prompt and united effort against slavery can this War be brought to a speedy and triumphant close, without which merchant, banker and politiclose, without which merchant, banker and point-cian will all suffer alike. Ledger, discount and political aspiration will be of small value if the War continues its lava flood, shriveling and stifling self-interest, if not under the necessities of se we must act together. Humanity, too, joins in this appeal. Blood enough has been already shed—victims enough have been offered at the altar-even if you are willing to continue to slavery the tribute we are now paying of more than a million of dollars a

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For the rebels there can be no true success. Every road for them leads to disaster. Defeat for them will be bad; but victory will be worse; for then cient Athens, followed close upon the disaster at Cheronea; and the statesman who moved it afterward vindicated himself by saying that it proceeded not from him, but from Cheronea. The Act of Congress, punishing the rebels by giving Freedom to their slaves employed against us—familiarly known as the Confiscation Act—passed the Senate on the morning after the disaster at Manassas. In the providence of God there are propositely and providence of God there are no accidents; and this seeming reverse thus helped the way to the greatest victory which can be won.

whose life, in the Book of Fate, had been a depend upon the preservation of a brand which was burning at his birth. The brand, so full of destiny, was snatched from the flames, and carefully served by his prudent mother. Meanwhile, hunter became powerful and invulnerable to mortal weapons. But at length the mother, indignant at his cruelty to her own family, flung the brand upon the flames, and the hunter died. The story of that hunter, so powerful and invulnerable to mortal ons, is now repeated in this Rebellion, and sla-is the fatal brand. Let our Government, which has thus far preserved slavery with maternal care, simply fling it upon the flames which itself has madly aroused, and the Rebellion will die at once.

Amidst all the perils which now surround us, there is one only which I dread. It is the peril which comes from some new surrender to slavery—some fresh re-cognition of its power—some present dalliance with its intolerable pretensions. Worse than any defeat or its intolerable pretensions. Worse than any defeat or even the flight of an army would be such abandonment of principle. From all such peril, good Lord deliver us! And there is one way of safety, clear as sunlight—pleasant as the paths of Peace. Over its broad and open gate is written, simply, JUSTICE. There is victory in that word. Do justice, and you will be twice-blessed; for so you will subdue the rebel master while you clevate the slave. Do justice, finally generously, nolly, and you will find tice frankly, generously, nobly, and you will ind strength instead of weakness, while all sceming responsibility will disappear in obedience to God's everlasting law. Do justice, though the Heavens fall;—but they will not fall. Every act of justice becomes a new pillar of the Universe, or it may be a new link of that

Whose strong embrace holds heaven and earth and main."

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing, "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER

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She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.

Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being made from the roots and herbs of the forest.

She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from turning grey.

using the heartest another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER,

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